



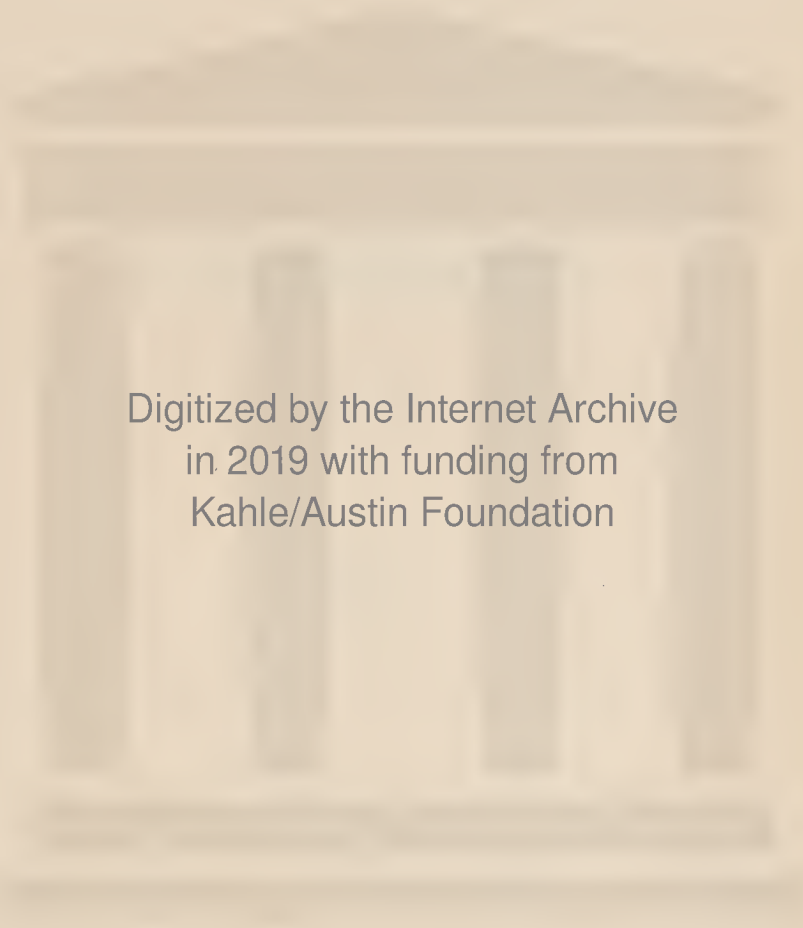
James B. Markoe.

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DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN,
ESQ., F.R.S.





DIARY OF



ohn



helyn,

ESQ., F.R.S.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED A SELECTION FROM HIS
FAMILIAR LETTERS
AND THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
KING CHARLES I. AND SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS
AND BETWEEN
SIR EDWARD HYDE (AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON)
AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

BY WILLIAM BRAY, F.S.A.

A NEW EDITION IN FOUR VOLUMES

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR
BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

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DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN.

October 2nd, 1685.

HAVING a letter sent me by Mr. Pepys with this expression at the foote of it, "I have something to shew you that I may not have another time," and that I would not faile to dine with him, I accordingly went. After dinner he had me and Mr. Houblon (a rich and considerable merchant, whose father had fled out of Flanders on the persecution of the Duke of Alva) into a private roome, and told us that being lately alone with his Ma^{ty}, and upon some occasion of speaking concerning my late Lord Arlington dying a Roman Catholic, who had all along seemed to profess himselfe a Protestant, taken all the tests, &c. till the day (I think) of his death, his Ma^{ty} said that as to his inclinations he had known them long wavering, but from feare of looseing his places he did not think it convenient to declare himself. There are, says the King, those who believe the Church of Rome gives dispensations for going to church, and many like things, but that is not so ; for if that might have ben had, he himselfe had most reason to make

use of it. *Indeed*, he said, as to *some matrimonial cases, there are now and then dispensations*, but hardly in any cases else. This familiar discourse encourag'd Mr. Pepys to beg of his Ma^{ty}, if he might ask it without offence, and for that his Ma^{ty} could not but observe how it was whisper'd among many, whether his late Ma^{ty} had ben reconcil'd to y^e Church of Rome ; he againe humbly besought his Ma^{ty} to pardon his presumption if he had touch'd upon a thing which did not befit him to looke into : the King ingenuously told him that he both was and died a Roman Catholic, and that he had not long since declar'd it was upon some politic and state reasons, best known to himselfe (meaning the King his brother) but that he was of that persuasion : he bid him follow him into his closet, where opening a cabinet, he shew'd him two papers, containing about a quarter of a sheete, on both sides written, in the late King's owne hand, severall arguments opposite to the doctrine of the Church of England, charging her with heresy, novelty and y^e fanaticism of other Protestants, the chief whereof was, as I remember, our refusing to acknowledge the primacy and infallibility of the Church of Rome ; how impossible it was that so many ages should never dispute it, till of late ; how unlikely our Saviour would leave his Church without a visible head and guide to resort to, during his absence ; with the like usual topics ; so well penn'd as to the discourse as did by no means seeme to me to have ben put together by the late King, yet written all with his owne hand, blotted and interlin'd, so as, if indeede it was not given him by some priest, they might be such arguments and reasons as had been inculcated from time to time, and here recollected ; and in the conclusion shewing his looking on the Protestant religion (and by name the Church of England) to be without foundation, and consequently false and unsafe. When

his Ma^y had shewn him these originals, he was pleas'd to lend him the copies of these two papers, attested at the bottome in 4 or 5 lines, under his owne hand.

These were the papers I saw and read. This nice and curious passage I thought fit to set downe. Tho' all the arguments and objections were altogether weake, and have a thousand times ben answer'd by our divines; they are such as their priests insinuate among their proselites, as if nothing were Catholique but the Church of Rome, no salvation out of that, no reformation sufferable, bottoming all their errors on St. Peter's successors unerrable dictatorship, but proving nothing with any reason, or taking notice of any objection which could be made against it. Here all was taken for granted, and upon it a resolution and preference implied. I was heartily sorry to see all this, tho' it was no other than was to be suspected, by his late Ma^{ty}s too greate indifference, neglect, and course of life, that he had ben perverted, and for secular respects onely profess'd to be of another believe, and thereby giving greate advantage to our adversaries, both the Court and generaly the youth and greate persons of the nation becoming dissolute and highly profane. God was incens'd to make his reign very troublesome and unprosperous, by warrs, plagues, fires, losse of reputation by an universal neglect of the publique for the love of a voluptuous and sensual life, w^{ch} a vicious Court had brought into credit. I think of it with sorrow and pity when I consider of how good and debonaire a nature that unhappy Prince was; what opportunities he had to have made himselfe the most renown'd King that ever sway'd the British scepter, had he ben firm to that Church for w^{ch} his martyr'd and blessed father suffer'd; and had he ben gratefull to Almighty God, who so miraculously restor'd him, with so excellent

a religion ; had he endeavour'd to owne and propagate it as he should have don, not onely for the good of his Kingdom, but of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, now weaken'd and neere ruin'd thro' our remissnesse and suffering them to be supplanted, persecuted and destroy'd, as in France, which we tooke no notice of. The consequence of this time will shew, and I wish it may proceed no further. The emissaries and instruments of the Church of Rome will never rest till they have crush'd the Church of England, as knowing that alone to be able to cope with them, and that they can never answer her fairly, but lie abundantly open to the irresistable force of her arguments, antiquity and purity of her doctrine, so that albeit it may move God, for the punishment of a nation so unworthy, to eclipse againe the profession of her here, and darknesse and superstition prevaile, I am most confident the doctrine of the Church of England will never be extinguish'd, but remaine visible, if not eminent, to y^e consummation of the world. I have innumerable reasons that confirm me in this opinion, which I forbear to mention here.

In the mean time as to the discourse of his Ma^{ty} with Mr. Pepys, and those papers, as I do exceedingly prefer his Majesty's free and ingenuous profession of what his own religion is, beyond concealment upon any politic accounts, so I thinke him of a most sincere and honest nature, one on whose word one may relie, and that he makes a conscience of what he promises, to performe it. In this confidence I hope that the Church of England may yet subsist, and when it shall please God to open his eyes and turne his heart (for that is peculiarly in the Lord's hands) to flourish also. In all events whatever do become of the Church of England, it is certainly, of all the Christian professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical, and excellent.

Oct. 8th. I had my picture drawn this week by the famous Kneller.¹

14th. I went to London about finishing my lodgings at White-hall.

15th. Being the King's birth-day, there was a solemne ball at Court, and before it musiq of instruments and voices. I happen'd by accident to stand the very next to the Queene and the King, who talk'd with me about the musick.

18th. The King was now building all that range from east to west by y^e court and garden to the streete, and making a new chapel for y^e Queene, whose lodgings were to be in this new building, as also a new Council chamber and offices next y^e south end of y^e Banquetting house. I returned home next morning to London.

22nd. I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield² in Berks, dining by the way at Mr. Graham's lodge at Bagshot;³ the house, new repair'd and capacious enough for a good family, stands in a park.

Hence we went to Swallowfield; this house is after the antient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up antient hospitality, but the gardens and waters as 'tis possible to make a flat, by art and industrie, and no meane expence, my lady being so extraordinarily skill'd in y^e flowery part, and my lord in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seene a seate which shews more tokens of it

¹ An engraving from this portrait, now at Wotton, forms the Frontispiece to the first volume of these Memoirs.

² Sir William Backhouse died seised of the manor of Swallowfield in 1669. His widow, daughter and heiress of William Backhouse, esq. married Henry Earl of Clarendon, who became possessed of this estate. The celebrated Lord Chancellor resided at his son's house at Swallowfield after his retirement from public life, and there wrote his great work, "The History of the Rebellion." Lysons's *Magna Brit. Berkshire*, p. 384. ³ Vol. ii. p. 475.

than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seate, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins ; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweete shrubbs, that it perfumes the aire. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchin garden full of the most desireable plants ; two very noble orangeries well furnished ; but above all, the canall and fishponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stor'd with fish, that for pike, carp, breame, and tench, I never saw any thing approaching it. We had at every meale carp and pike of a size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to y^e delight was to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cooke standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have ben worth at London twenty shillings a piece. The waters are flagg'd about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with w^{ch} my lady has hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certaine sweete willow and other exotics : also a very fine bowling-greene, meadow, pasture, and wood ; in a word, all that can render a country seat delightful. There is besides a well furnish'd library in y^e house.

26th. We return'd to London, having ben treated with all sorts of cheere and noble freedom by that most religious and vertuous lady. She was now preparing to go for Ireland with her husband, made Lord Deputy, and went to this country-house and antient seate of her father and family to set things in order during her absence ; but never were good people and neighbours more concern'd than all the

country (the poor especialy) for the departure of this charitable woman ; every one was in teares, and she as unwilling to part from them. There was amongst them a maiden of primitive life, the daughter of a poore labouring man, who had sustain'd her parents (sometime since dead) by her labour, and has for many years refus'd marriage, or to receive any assistance from the parish, besides y^e little hermitage my lady gives her rent-free ; she lives on foure pence a day, which she gets by spinning ; says she abounds and can give almes to others, living in greate humility and content, without any apparent affectation or singularity ; she is continually working, praying, or reading, gives a good account of her knowledge in religion, visites the sick ; is not in the least given to talke ; very modest, of a simple not unseemly behaviour, of a comely countenance, clad very plaine, but cleane and tight. In sum, she appeares a saint of an extraordinary sort, in so religious a life as is seldom met with in villages now-a-daies.

27th. I was invited to dine at Sir Ste. Fox's with my Lord Lieutenant, where was such a dinner for variety of all things as I had seldome seene, and it was so for the trial of a master cooke whom Sir Stephen had recommended to go with his Lordship into Ireland ; there were all y^e dainties not onely of the season, but of what art could add, venison, plaine solid meate, fowle, bak'd and boil'd meates, banquet [desert], in exceeding plenty and exquisitely dress'd. There also din'd my Lord Ossory and Lady (the Duke of Beaufort's daughter), my Lady Treasurer, Lord Cornbury, and other visitors.

28th. At the Royal Society an urn full of bones was presented, dug up in an highway, whilst repairing it, in a field in Camberwell, in Surrey ; it was found intire with its cover, amongst many others, believ'd to be truly Roman and antient.

Sir Rich^d Bulkeley describ'd to us a model of a charriot he had invented, w^{ch} it was not possible to overthrow in whatever uneven way it was drawn, giving us a wonderfull relation of what it had perform'd in that kind, for ease, expedition, and safety ; there were some inconveniencies yet to be remedied—it would not contain more than one person ; was ready to take fire every 10 miles, and being plac'd, and playing on no fewer than 10 rollers, it made a most prodigious noise, almost intolerable. A remedy was to be sought for these inconveniencies.

31st. I din'd at our greate Lord Chancellor Jefferies, who us'd me with much respect. This was the late Chief Justice who had newly ben the Western Circuit to try the Monmouth conspirators, and had formerly don such severe justice amongst the obnoxious in Westm^r Hall, for which his Ma^{ty} dignified him by creating him first a Baron, and now Lord Chancellor. He had some years past ben conversant at Deptford ; is of an assur'd and undaunted spirit, and has serv'd the Court interest on all the hardest occasions ; is of nature cruel and a slave of the Court.

Nov. 3rd. The French persecution of y^e Protestants raging with the utmost barbarity, exceeded even what y^e very heathens us'd : innumerable persons of the greatest birth and riches leaving all their earthly substance, and hardly escaping with their lives, dispers'd thro' all the countries of Europe. The French tyrant abrogated the Edict of Nantes which had ben made in favour of them, and without any cause ; on a sudaine demolishing all their churches, banishing, imprisoning, and sending to y^e gallies all y^e ministers ; plundering the common people, and exposing them to all sorts of barbarous usage by souldiers sent to ruine and prey on them ; taking away their children ; forcing people to the Masse, and then executing them as relapsers ; they burnt their libraries, pillag'd their goods,

eate up their fields and substance, banish'd or sent the people to y^e gallies, and seiz'd on their estates. There had now ben number'd to passe thro' Geneva onely (and that by stealth, for all the usual passages were strictly guarded by sea and land) 40,000 towards Swisserland. In Holland, Denmark, and all about Germany, were dispers'd some hundred thousands; besides those in England, where though multitudes of all degrees sought for shelter and wellcome as distressed Christians and confessors, they found least encouragement, by a fatality of the times we were fallen into, and y^e uncharitable indifference of such as should have embrac'd them; and I pray it be not laid to our charge. The famous Claude fled to Holland, Allix¹ and severall more came to London, and persons of greate estates came over, who had forsaken all. France was almost dispeopled, the bankers so broaken that y^e tyrant's revenue was exceedingly diminish'd, manufactures ceas'd, and every body there, save the Jesuites, abhorr'd what was don, nor did the Papists themselves approve it. What the further intention is time will shew, but doubtlesse portending some revolution. I was shew'd the harangue w^{ch} the Bishop of Valentia on Rhone made in y^e name of y^e cleargie, celebrating the French King, as if he was a God, for persecuting the poore Protestants, with this expression in it, "That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wish'd in England; and that God seem'd to raise the French King to this power and

¹ Mr. Peter Allix, a minister of the Reformed Church at Charenton, came over with his whole family, and met with great encouragement here. He was the author of several learned discourses in defence of the Christian religion in general, and of Protestantism in particular. His eldest son, John Peter Allix, became D. D. and after passing through different preferments, was in 1730 made Dean of Ely, and died in 1758, and was buried in his church of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire.

magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in doing the same here." This paragraph is very bold and remarkable; severall reflecting on Archbishop Usher's prophecy as now begun in France, and approaching the orthodox in all other reform'd churches. One thing was much taken notice of, that the Gazettes which were still constantly printed twice a weeke, informing us what was don all over Europe, never spake of this wonderfull proceeding in France, nor was any relation of it publish'd by any, save what private letters and the persecuted fugitives brought : whence this silence I list not to conjecture, but it appear'd very extraordinary in a Protestant countrie that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffer'd, whilst greate collections were made for them in forreine places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance.

5th. It being an extraordinary wett morning, and myself indisposed by a very greate rheume, I did not go to church, to my very greate sorrow, it being the first Gunpowder Conspiracy anniversary that had ben kept now these 80 yeares under a prince of the Roman religion. Bonfires were forbidden on this day ; what does this portend !

9th. Began the Parliament; the King in his speech required continuance of a standing force instead of a militia, and indemnity and dispensation to Popish officers from the test ; demands very unexpected and displeasing to the Commons. He also requir'd a supply of revenue, which they granted, but return'd no thanks to the King for his speech, till farther consideration.

12th. The Commons postpon'd finishing the bill for the supply, to consider the Test, and Popish officers ; this was carried but by one voice.

14th. I dined at Lambeth, my Lord Archbishop carrying me with him in his barge : there were my

Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Bp. of Ely, and St. Asaph, Dr. Sherlock, and other divines; Sir W^m Hayward, Sir Paul Rycaut, &c.

20th. The Parliament was adjourn'd to February, severall both of Lords and Commons excepting against some passage of his Majesty's speech relating to the test, and continuance of Popish officers in command. This was a greate surprize in a parliament which people believ'd would have complied in all things.

Popish pamphlets and pictures sold publickly; no books nor answers to them appearing till long after.

21st. I resign'd my trust for composing a difference between Mr. Thynn and his wife.

22nd. Hitherto was a very wett warme season.

Dec. 4th. Lord Sunderland was declar'd President of y^e Counsel, and yet to hold his Secretarie's place. The forces dispos'd into severall quarters thro' y^e kingdome are very insolent, on w^{ch} are greate complaints.

Lord Brandon tried for the late conspiracy, was condemn'd and pardon'd; so was Lord Grey, his accuser and wnesse.

Persecution in France raging, the French insolently visite our vessells, and take away the fugitiye Protestants; some escape in barrells.

10th. To Greenwich, being put into the new Commission of Sewers.

13th. D^r Patrick, Dean of Peterborough, preach'd at White-hall before y^e Princesse of Denmark; who since his Ma^{ty} came to the Crown, allways sate in the King's closet, and had the same bowings and ceremonies applied to the place where she was, as his Ma^{ty} had when there in person.

Dining at Mr. Pepys's, Dr. Slayer shewed us an experiment of a wonderful nature, pouring first a very cold liquor into a glass, and super-fusing on it

another, to appearance cold and cleare liquor also ; it first produced a white cloud, then boiling, divers corruscations and actual flames of fire mingled with the liquor, which being a little shaken together, fixed divers sunns and starrs of real fire, perfectly globular, on the sides of the glasse, and which there stuck like so many constellations, burning most vehemently, and resembling starrs and heavenly bodies, and that for a long space. It seemed to exhibite a theorie of the eduction of light out of the chaos, and the fixing or gathering of the universal light into luminous bodys. This matter or phosphorus was made out of human blood and urine, elucidating the vital flame or heate in animal bodys. A very noble experiment.

16th. I accompanied my Lord Lieutenant as far as St. Alban's, there going out of towne with him neere 200 coaches of all the greate officers and nobilitie. The next morning taking leave I return'd to London.

18th. I din'd at the greate entertainment his Ma^{ty} gave y^e Venetian Ambassadors, Sign^{rs} Zenno and Justiniani, accompanied with 10 more noble Venetians of their most illustrious families, Cornaro, Maccenigo, &c. who came to congratulate their Ma^{ties} coming to y^e Crowne. The dinner was most magnificent and plentifull, at four tables, with music, kettle drums, and trumpets, w^{ch} sounded upon a whistle at every health. The banquet [desert] was 12 vast chargers pil'd up so high that those who sat one against another could hardly see each other. Of these sweetemeates, w^{ch} doubtless were some days piling up in that exquisite manner, the Ambassador touch'd not, but leaving them to y^e spectators who came out of curiosity to see the dinner, were exceedingly pleas'd to see in what a moment of time all that curious work was demolish'd, the comfitures

voided, and the tables clear'd. Thus his Ma^{ty} entertain'd them three days, which (for the table only) cost him £600, as the Cleark of the Greene Cloth (S^r W^m Boreman) assur'd me. Dinner ended, I saw their procession or cavalcade to White-hall, innumerable coaches attending. The two Ambass^{rs} had 4 coaches of their owne, and 50 footemen (as I remember), besides other equipage as splendid as y^e occasion would permit, the Court being still in mourning. Thence I went to the audience w^{ch} they had in the Queene's presence chamber, the Banquetting house being full of goods and furniture till the galleries on the garden side, council chamber, and new chapel, now in building, were finish'd. They went to their audience in those plain black gownes and caps which they constantly weare in the city of Venice. I was invited to have accompanied the two Ambassadors in their coach to supper that night, returning now to their own lodgings, as no longer at the King's expence; but being weary I excus'd myself.

19th. My Lord Treasurer made me dine with him, where I became acquainted with Mons^r Barillon, the French Ambassador, a learned and crafty advocate.

20th. D^r Turner, brother to y^e Bp. of Ely, and sometime tutor to my Son, preach'd at White-hall on 8 Mark, v. 38, concerning y^e submission of Christians to their persecutors, in w^{ch} were some passages indiscreete enough, considering y^e time, and the rage of the inhumane French tyrant against the poore Protestants.

22nd. Our patent for executing the office of Privy Seal during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, being this day seal'd by the Lord Chancellor, we went afterwards to St. James's, where the Court then was on occasion of building at White-

hall ; his Ma^{ty} deliver'd the seale to my Lord Tiviot and myselfe, the other Commissioners not being come, and then gave us his hand to kisse. There were the two Venetian Ambassadors and a world of company ; amongst the rest the first Popish Nuncio ¹ that had ben in England since the Reformation, so wonderfully were things chang'd, to the universal jealousy.

24th. We were all three Commissioners sworne on our knees by the Cleark of the Crowne, before my Lord Chancellor, three severall oathes ; allegiance, supremacy, and the oath belonging to y^e Lord Privy Seal, w^{ch} last we tooke standing. After this the Lord Chancellor invited us all to dinner, but it being Christmas-eve we desir'd to be excus'd, intending at three in y^e afternoone to seale divers things which lay ready at y^e office ; so attended by three of the Clearks of y^e Signet, we met and seal'd. Amongst other things was a pardon to West, who being privy to the late conspiracy, had reveal'd the accomplices to save his owne neck. There were also another pardon and two indenizations ; and so agreeing to a fortnight's vacation, I return'd home.

31st. Recollecting the passages of the yeare past, and made up accompts, humbly besought Almighty God to pardon those my sinns which had provoked him to discompose my sorrowfull family ; that he would accept of our humiliation, and in his good time restore comfort to it. I also blest God for all his undeserved mercies and preservations, begging the continuance of his grace and preservation.—The winter had hitherto been extraordinary wett and mild.

1685-86. Jan. 1st. Imploring y^e continuance of God's providential care for the yeare now entered, I went

¹ Ferdinand Count D'Ada, afterwards a Cardinal. There is a good mezzotinto print of him.

to the publiq devotions. The Deane of the Chapell and Cleark of the Closet put out, viz. Bp. of London¹ and . . . , and Rochester² and Durham³ put in their places; the former had oppos'd the toleration intended, and shewn a worthy zeale for the reform'd religion as establish'd.

6th. I din'd with y^e Abp. of York, where was Peter Walsh, that Romish priest so well known for his moderation, professing the Church of England to be a true member of the Catholic Church; he isus'd to go to our publiq prayers without scruple, and did not acknowledge the Pope's infallibility, onely primacy of order.

19th. Passed the Privie Seale, amongst others, the creation of Mrs. Sedley⁴ (concubine to ——) Countesse of Dorchester, which the Queene took very grievously, so as for two dinners, standing neere her I observed she hardly eate one morsel, nor spake one word to the King, or to any about her, tho' at other times she us'd to be extreamly pleasant, full of discourse and good humour. The Roman Catholics were also very angry, because they had so long valu'd the sanctity of their religion and proselytes.

Dryden the famous playwriter, and his two sonns, and Mrs. Nelly (misse to y^e late ——) were said to go to masse; such proselytes were no greate losse to the church.

This night was burnt to the ground my Lord

¹ Compton.

² Sprat.

³ Crewe.

⁴ Catharine, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart. one of the famous knot of wits and courtiers of King Charles's time—he was also a poet, and wrote some dramatic pieces. She had a daughter by King James II. and was afterwards married to David Earl of Portmore, by whom she had two sons, and died in 1717. Lord Dorset's well-known verses, "Tell me, Dorinda, why so gay," &c. are addressed to this lady. Her father's sarcasm when he voted for filling up the vacant throne with the Prince and Princess of Orange is well known; "King James made my daughter a Countess, and I have been helping to make his daughter a Queen."

Mountague's palace in Bloomsbury, than w^{ch} for painting and furniture there was nothing more glorious in England. This happen'd by the negligence of a servant, airing, as they call it, some of the goods by the fire in a moist season; indeede so wet and mild a season had scarce ben seene in man's memory.

At this Seale there also pass'd the creation of S^r Henry Waldegrave¹ to be a Peere. He had married one of the King's natural daughters by Mrs. Churchill. These two Seales my brother Commissioners pass'd in the morning before I came to towne, at w^{ch} I was not displeas'd. We likewise pass'd Privy Seales for £276,000 upon several accounts, pensions, guards, wardrobes, privy purse, &c. besides divers pardons, and one more w^{ch} I must not forget (and w^{ch} by Providence I was not present at) one Mr. Lytcott to be Secretary to the Ambassador to Rome. We being three Commissioners, any two were a quorum.

21st. I din'd at my Lady Arlington's, Groome of the Stole to the Queene Dowager, at Somerset House, where din'd the Countesses of Devonshire, Dover, &c. in all 11 ladys of quality, no man but myselfe being there.

24th. Unheard of cruelties to y^e persecuted Protestants of France, such as hardly any age has seene the like, even among the Pagans.

Feb. 6th. Being the day on w^{ch} his Ma^{ty} began his reign, by order of Council it was to be solemniz'd with a particular office and sermon, which the Bp. of Ely² preach'd at White-hall on 11 Numb. v. 12; a Court oration upon the Regal office. It was much wonder'd at that this day, w^{ch} was that of his late Ma^{ty}'s death, should be kept as a festival, and not [instead of] the

¹ He was the fourth Baronet; was created 30 Jan. 1686, Baron Waldegrave; being at that time Comptroller of the King's Household, and died at Paris in 1689.

² Dr. Francis Turner.

day of the present King's coronation. It is said to have been formerly y^e custome, tho' not till now since y^e reigne of King James I.

The Dutchesse of Monmouth being in y^e same seate with me at church, appear'd with a very sad and afflicted countenance.

8th. I tooke the Test in Westminster Hall, before the Lord Cheif Justice. I now came to lodge at White-hall, in the Lord Privy Seal's lodgings.

12th. My greate cause was heard by my Lord Chancellor, who granted me a re-hearing. I had 6 eminent lawyers, my antagonist 3, whereof one was the smooth-tong Solicitor,¹ whom my Lord Chancellor reprov'd in greate passion for a very small occasion. Blessed be God for his greate goodnesse to me this day.

19th. Many bloody and notorious duels were fought about this time. The Duke of Grafton kill'd Mr. Stanley, brother to the Earle of [Derby], indeede upon an almost insufferable provocation. It is to be hop'd that his Ma^{ty} will at last severely remedy this unchristian custome.

Lord Sunderland was now Secretary of State, President of the Council, and Premier Minister.

March 1st. Came Sir Gilbert Gerrard to treat with me about his sonn's marrying my daughter Susanna. The father being obnoxious, and in some suspicion and displeasure of the King, I would receive no proposal till his Ma^{ty} had given me leave, w^{ch} he was pleas'd to do; but after severall meetings we brake off on his not being willing to secure any thing competent for my daughter's children; besides that I found most of his estate was in y^e coal pits as far off as Newcastle, and on leases from the Bishop of Durham, who had power to make concurrent leases, with other difficulties.

¹ Mr. Finch, called *Silver-Tongue*, from his manner of speaking.

7th. D^r Frampton, Bp. of Gloucester, preach'd on 44 Psalm, v. 17, 18, 19, shewing the severall afflictions of the Church of Christ from the primitives to this day, applying exceedingly to the present conjuncture, when many were wavering in their minds, and greate temptations appearing thro' the favour now found by the Papists, so as the people were full of jealousies and discouragement. The Bp. magnified the Church of England, exhorting to constancy and perseverance.

10th. A Council of the Royal Society about disposing of Dr. Ray's book of Fishes, which was printed at the expence of the Society.

12th. A docquet was to be seal'd importing a lease of 21 yeares to one Hall, who styld himselfe his Ma^{ty's} printer (he lately turn'd Papist) for the printing Missalls, Offices, Lives of Saints, Portals, Primers, &c. books expressly forbidden to be printed or sold, by divers Acts of Parliament; I refus'd to put my seale to it, making my exceptions, so it was laied by.

14th. The Bp. of Bath and Wells¹ preach'd on 6 John, v. 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse: after he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution. This sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Bishop who had undergone the censure of being inclin'd to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could shew more. This indeede did all our Bishops, to the disabusing and reproch of all their delators; for none were more zealous against Popery than they were.

16th. I was at a review of the army about London,

¹ Thomas Ken, D.D. the deprived Bishop: born at Berkhamstead, Herts, in July 1637, and died at Longleate in Wiltshire, then the seat of Lord Viscount Weymouth, March 19, 1710-11.

in Hide Park, about 6000 horse and foote, in excellent order ; his Ma^{ty} and infinity of people being present.

17th. I went to my house in the country, refusing to be present at what was to passe at the Privy Seale the next day. In the morning Dr. Tenison preached an incomparable discourse at White-hall, on 2 Timothy, v. 3, 4.

24th. Dr. Cradock (Provost of Eaton) preach'd at the same place on 49 Psalm, v. 13, shewing the vanity of earthly enjoyments.

28th. Dr. White, Bp. of Peterboro', preach'd in a very eloquent style, on 26 Matthew, v. 29, submission to the will of God on all accidents and at all times.

29th. The Duke of Northumberland (a natural son of the late King by the Dutchess of Cleaveland) marrying very meanly, with the helpe of his brother Grafton, attempted in vain to spirit away his wife.

A briefe was read in all churches for relieving the French Protestants, who came here for protection from the unheard-of cruelties of the King.

Aprill 2nd. Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, made Governor of Dover Castle.¹

15th. The Abp. of York² now died of y^e small pox, aged 62, a corpulent man. He was my special loving friend, and whilst Bp. of Rochester (from whence he was translated) my excellent neighbour. He was an inexpressible loss to y^e whole church, and that province especialy, being a learned, wise, stoute, and most worthy prelate ; I looke on this as a greate stroke to y^e poore Church of England, now in this defecting period.

¹ Not taking the Test, his coachman was set up to inform against him, and claim the £500 penalty. When this was to be brought to trial, the Judges were secretly asked their opinions, and such as were not clear with the Court, were turned out. Half of them were dismissed. Burnet, vol. iii. pp. 1110, 1111.

² Dr. John Dolben.

18th. In the afternoone I went to Camberwell to visit Dr. Parr. After sermon I accompanied him to his house, where he shew'd me the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh (Usher), and among them that letter of Bp. Bramhall's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending an hundred priests into England, who were to conforme themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us. This letter was the cause of y^e whole impression being seiz'd, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things not relating to theology, tho' it had ben licens'd by y^e Bishop; which plainely shew'd what an interest the Papists now had, that a Protestant booke, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be publish'd. There were also many letters to and from most of y^e learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment.

Several Judges were put out, and new complying ones put in.

25th. This day was read in our church the Briefe for a collection for reliefe of y^e Protestant French, so cruelly, barbarously, and inhumanly oppress'd without any thing being laied to their charge. It had ben long expected, and at last with difficulty procur'd to be publish'd, the interest of the French Ambassador obstructing it.

May 5th. There being a Seale it was fear'd we should be requir'd to passe a doquett dispensing with D^r Obadiah Walker and four more, whereof one was an apostate curate of Putney,¹ y^e others officers of University College, Oxford, who hold their masterships,

¹ Edw. Sclater. From a Protestant he became a Roman Catholic; and in 1689 he read his recantation from that church, and again became a Protestant. Manning and Bray's Surrey, vol. iii. p. 300.

fellowships, and cures, and keepe publiq schooles, and enjoy all former emoluments, notwithstanding they no more frequented or us'd the public formes of prayers or communion with y^e Church of England, or took y^e test or oathes of allegiance and supremacy, contrary to 20 Acts of Parliament ; which dispensation being also contrary to his Ma^{ty}s owne gracious declaration at y^e beginning of his reigne, gave umbrage (as well it might) to every good Protestant, nor could we safely have pass'd it under the Privy Seale, wherefore it was done by immediate warrant, sign'd by Mr. Solicitor.

This Walker was a learned person, of a monkish life, to whose tuition I had more than 30 yeares since recommended the sonns of my worthy friend Mr. Hyldyard, of Horsly in Surry,¹ believing him to be far from what he prov'd, an hypocritical conceal'd Papist, by w^{ch} he perverted the eldest sonn of Mr. Hyldyard, S^r Edw^d Hale's eldest sonn, and severall more, to the greate disturbance of the whole nation, as well as of the University, as by his now publiq defection appear'd. All engines being now at work to bring in Popery, w^{ch} God in mercy prevent !

This day was burnt in the old Exchange, by the common hangman, a translation of a booke written by y^e famous Mons^r Claude, relating onely matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of y^e French King against his Protestant subjects, without any refutation of any facts therein ; so mighty a power and ascendant here had the French Ambass^r, who was doubtlesse in greate indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation, for y^e reliefe of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter.

About this time also the Duke of Savoy, instigated

¹ See vol. ii. p. 33.

by y^e French King to extirpate the Protestants of Piedmont, slew many thousands of those innocent people, so that there seem'd to be an universal designe to destroy all that would not go to masse throughout Europe. *Quod avertat D. O. M.!* No faith in Princes!

12th. I refus'd to put the Privy Seale to D^r Walker's licence for printing and publishing divers Popish books, of which I complain'd both to my Lord of Canterbury (with whom I went to advise in the Council Chamber), and to my Lord Treasurer that evening at his lodgings. My Lord of Canterbury's ¹ advice was, that I should follow my owne conscience therein; Mr. Treasurer's, that if in conscience I could dispense with it, for any other hazard he believ'd there was none. Notwithstanding this I persisted in my refusal.

29th. There was no sermon on this anniversary, as there usually had ben ever since y^e reigne of the present King.

June 2nd. Such storms, raine, and foul weather, seldom known at this time of the yeare. The camp at Hounslow Heath, from sicknesse and other inconveniences of weather, forc'd to retire to quarters; y^e storms being succeeded by excessive hot weather, many grew sick. Greate feasting there, especialy in Lord Dunbarton's quarters. There were many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this encampment.

A Seale this day, mostly pardons and discharges of Kn^t Baronets fees, w^{ch} having ben pass'd over for so many yeares, did greatly disoblige several families who had serv'd his Ma^{ty}. Lord Tirconnell gon to Ireland, with greate powers and commissions, giving as much cause of talke as the camp, especialy 19 new Privy Councillors and Judges being now

¹ Dr. Sancroft. Burnet describes him as a timid man.

made, amongst w^{ch} but three Protestants, and Tirconnell made Generall.

New Judges also here, amongst w^{ch} was Milton, a Papist (brother to that Milton who wrote for y^e Regicides), who presum'd to take his place without passing y^e Test.¹ Scotland refuses to grant liberty of masse to the Papists there.

The French persecution more inhuman than ever. The Protestants in Savoy successfully resist the French dragoons sent to murder them.

The King's chiefe physician in Scotland apostatizing from the Protestant religion, does of his own accord publish his recantation at Edinburgh.²

11th. I went to see Middleton's receptacle of water at the New River, and the new Spa Wells neere.

20th. An extraordinary season of violent and sudden raine. The camp still in tents.

24th. My Lord Treasurer settled my greate businesse with Mr. Pretymán, to which I hope God will at last give a prosperous issue.

25th. Now his Ma^{ty}, beginning with D^r Sharp and Tully, proceeded to silence and suspend divers excellent divines for preaching against Popery.

27th. I had this day ben married 39 yeares—blessed be God for all his mercies.

The new very young Lord Chief Justice Herbert

¹ Christopher Milton, made a Baron of the Exchequer. He did not hold his situation long, and Dr. Johnson admits, that from weakness of constitution he retired before he had done any disreputable act.

² Sir Robert Sibbald, who was the most learned antiquary in Scotland, had lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubt as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the Earl of Perth to turn Papist; but he soon became ashamed of having done so on so little enquiry. He went to London for some months, retiring from all company, and went into a deep course of study, by which he came to see into the errors of Popery. He then returned to Scotland, and published his recantation openly in a church. Burnet's Own Time, iii. 1128.

declar'd on y^e bench, that the government of England was entirely in the King; that the Crown was absolute; that penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the King's power; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, and why could he not dispense with them, by which the Test was abolish'd? Every one was astonish'd. Greate jealousies as to what would be the end of these proceedings.

July 6th. I supp'd with the Countesse of Rochester, where was also the Dutchesse of Buckingham and Madame de Governè, whose daughter was married to y^e Marquess of Halifax's sonn. She made me a character of y^e French King and Dauphin, and of y^e persecution. That they kept much of the cruelties from the King's knowledge; that the Dauphin was so afraid of his father, that he durst not let any thing appeare of his sentiments; that he hated letters and priests, spent all his time in hunting, and seem'd to take no notice of what was passing.

This lady was of a greate family and fortune, and had fled hither for refuge.

8th. I waited on y^e Abp. at Lambeth, where I din'd and met the famous preacher and writer, D^r Allix,¹ doubtlesse a most excellent and learned person. The Abp. and he spoke Latin together, and that very readily.

11th. Dr. Meggot, Deane of Winchester, preach'd before the Household in S^t George's Chapell at Windsor, y^e late King's glorious chapell now seiz'd on by the masse priests. D^r Cartwright, Deane of Ripon, preach'd before the greate men of the Court in the same place.

We had now the sad news of the Bp. of Oxford's²

¹ Allix, of whom see p. 9.

² Dr. John Fell, also Dean of Christ Church.

death, an extraordinary losse to the poore Church at this time. Many candidates for his Bishoprick and Deanry, Dr. Parker, South, Aldrich, &c. Dr. Walker (now apostatizing) came to Court, and was doubtlesse very buisy.

13th. Note, that standing by y^e Queene at bassett (cards), I observ'd that she was exceedingly concern'd for y^e losse of £80; her outward affability much chang'd to statelinesse, since she has ben exalted.

The season very rainy and inconvenient for the camps. His Ma^{ty} very cherefull.

14th. Was seal'd at our office the Constitution of certaine Commissioners to take upon them full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, in as unlimited a manner, or rather greater, than y^e late High Commission Court, abrogated by Parliament; for it had not onely faculty to inspect and visite all Bishops dioceses, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter among the Colledges, tho' founded by private men; to punish, suspend, fine, &c. give oathes and call witnesses. The maine drift was to suppress zealous preachers. In sum, it was y^e whole power of a Vicar General—note y^e consequence! Of the Cleargy the Commissioners were the Abp. of Canterbury [Sancroft], Bishops of Durham [Crewe] and Rochester [Sprat]; of y^e Temporals, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor [Jefferies] (who alone was ever to be of the quorum), the Cheife Justice [Herbert], and Lord President [Earl of Sunderland].

18th. I went to see Sir John Chardin at Greenwich.

Aug^t. 4th. I din'd at Sign^r Verrio's, y^e famous Italian painter, now settled in his Ma^{ty}'s garden at St. James's, which he had made a very delicious Paradise.

8th. Our vicar gone to dispose of his country living in Rutlandshire, having St. Dunstan in y^e East given him by the Abp. of Canterbury.

I wente to visite y^e Marquess Ravigné, now my neighbour at Greenewich, retir'd from the persecution in France. He was the Deputy of all y^e Protestants of that kingdom in the Parliament of Paris, and severall times Ambassador in this and other Courts; a person of greate learning and experience.¹

Sept. 8th. Dr. Compton, Bp. of London, was on Monday suspended, on pretence of not silencing Dr. Sharp of St. Giles's, for something of a sermon in which he zealously reprov'd the doctrine of the Roman Catholics. The Bishop having consulted the civilians, they told him he could not by any law proceed against Dr. Sharp without producing witnesses, and impleading according to forme; but it was over-rul'd by my Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop sentenc'd without so much as being heard to any purpose. This was thought a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and was universally resented, and so much the rather for that two Bishops, Durham² and Rochester,³ sitting in the Commission and giving their suffrages, the Abp. of Canterbury refus'd to sit amongst them. He was only suspended *ab officio*, and that was soone after taken off. He was brother to the Earl of Northampton, had once ben a souldier, had travelled in Italy, but became a sober, grave, and excellent Prelate.

12th. Buda now taken from y^e Turks, a form of Thanksgiving was order'd to be us'd in the (as yet

¹ His son was with King William in Ireland, and was made Earl of Galway, but was dismissed by violence of party, being a Frenchman, though his conduct had been in every respect most excellent, as will be mentioned hereafter.

² Crewe.

³ Sprat: he afterwards would not sit.

remaining) Protestant chapells and church of Whitehall and Windsor.

The King of Denmark was besieging Hambrow, no doubt by the French contrivance, to embroile the Protestant Princes in a new warr, that Holland, &c. being ingag'd, matter for new quarrell might arise: the unheard-of persecution of the poore Protestants still raging more than ever.

22nd. The Danes retire from Hambrow, the Protestant Princes appearing for their succour, and the Emperor sending his Minatories to the King of Denmark, and also requiring the restoration of the D. of Saxe Gotha. Thus it pleas'd God to defeat the French designes, w^{ch} were evidently to kindle a new warr.

Oct. 14th. His Ma^{ty's} birth-day; I was at his rising in his bed-chamber, afterwards in the parke, where 4 companies of guards were drawn up. The officers, &c. wonderfully rich and gallant; they did not head their troops, but their next officers, y^e colonels being on horseback by the King whilst they march'd. The ladys not lesse splendid at Court, where there was a ball at night, but small appearance of qualitie. All the shops both in the City and suburbs were shut up, and kept as solemnly as any holyday. Bonfires at night in Westminster, but forbidden in y^e Citty.

17th. Dr. Patrick, Deane of Peterborow, preached at Covent Garden church on 5 Ephes. v. 18, 19. shewing the costome of the primitive saints in serving God with hymns, and their frequent use of them upon all occasions: perstringing the profane way of mirth and intemperance of this ungodly age. Afterwards I visited my Lord Cheife Justice of Ireland, with whom I had long and private discourse concerning the miserable condition that kingdom was like to be in if Tyrconnell's councils should prevaile at Court.

23rd. Went with the Countesse of Sunderland to

Cranbourn, a lodge and walke of my Lord Godolphin's in Windsor Parke. There was one room in the house spared in the pulling downe the old one, because the late Dutchesse of York was borne in it; the rest was built and added to it by Sir Geo. Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy; and since the whole was purchas'd by my Lord Godolphin, who spake to me to go see it, and advise what trees were fit to be cut downe to improve the dwelling, being inviron'd with old rotten pollards, which corrupt the aire. It stands on a knowle, which tho' insensibly rising, gives it a prospect over the keepe of Windsor, about three miles N. E. of it. The ground is clayey and moist; the water stark naught; the park is pretty; the house tolerable, and gardens convenient. After dinner we came back to London, having 2 coaches both going and coming, of 6 horses apiece, w^{ch} we chang'd at Hounslow.

24th. Dr. Warren preached before the Princesse at White-hall on 5 Matthew, of the blessednesse of the pure in heart, most elegantly describing the blisse of the beatifical vision. In the afternoone S^r Geo. Wheeler kn^t and bart. preach'd on the 4th Matt. upon the necessity of repentance, at St. Margaret's, an honest and devout discourse, and pretty tolerably perform'd. This gentleman coming from his travels out of Greece fell in love with the daughter of S^r Tho^s Higgins, his Ma^{ty's} Resident at Venice, niece to the Earle of Bath, and married her. When they return'd into England, being honour'd with knight-hood, he would needes turn preacher, and tooke orders. He publish'd a learned and ingenious book of his travels, and is a very worthy person, a little formal and particular, but exceedingly devote.¹

¹ Sir George Wheeler was born whilst his parents were in exile at Breda for their attachment to King Charles I. He was of Lincoln College, Oxford. On his return from his travels in Asia

27th. There was a triumphant shew of the Lord Maior both by land and water, with much solemnity, when yet his power has ben so much diminish'd, by the losse of the Citty's former charter.

Nov. 5th. I went to St. Martin's in the morning, where Dr. Birch preach'd very boldly against the Papists, from 16 John, v. 2. In the afternoone I heard Dr. Tillotson in Lincoln's Inn Chapell, on the same text, but more cautiously.

16th. I went with part of my family to passe the melancholy winter in London at my Sonn's house in Arundel Buildings.

Dec. 5th. I dined at my Lady Arlington's, Groome of the Stole to the Queene Dowager at Somerset House, where dined divers French Noblemen, driven out of their country by the persecution.

16th. I carried the Countesse of Sunderland to see the rarities of one Mr. Charleton in the Middle Temple, who shewed us such a collection as I had never seen in all my travels abroad, either of private gentlemen or princes. It consisted of miniatures, drawings, shells, insects, medailes, natural things, animals (of w^{ch} divers, I think 100, were kept in glasses of spirits of wine), minerals, precious stones, vessells, curiosities in amber, christal, achat, &c.; all being very perfect and rare of their kind, especially his

and Greece he was knighted. Having presented several antiquities which he had collected to the University of Oxford in 1683, they gave him his degree of A.M. He took orders against the advice of powerful friends, but from an earnest desire to be useful as a Parish Priest; and he well fulfilled his intentions. He became Rector of Houghton-le-Spring in Durham, the living which had been so exemplarily filled by the "Northern Apostle" Bernard Gilpin, and whose example he worthily followed. Bishop Crew also gave him a stall in Durham Cathedral. He died 18 January 1723. His descendants are seated at Otterden in Kent. Mr. Surtees, "History of Durham" (1816), where a large account and portrait are given of him.

bookes of birds, fish, flowers, and shells, drawn and miniatur'd to the life. He told us that one book stood him in £300; it was painted by that excellent workman whom the late Gaston Duke of Orleans employed. This gentleman's whole collection, gather'd by himselfe travelling over most parts of Europe, is estimated at £8000. He appear'd to be a modest and obliging person.¹

29th. I went to heare the musiq of the Italians in the New Chapel, now first open'd publickly at White-hall for the Popish service. Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture at the end, where are four statues, representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and greate coste. The altar-piece is the Salutation; the volto in *fresca*, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin according to their tradition, with our Bl. Saviour, and a world of figures painted by Verrio. The throne where the King and Queene sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar. Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with 6 or 7 Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sate in a chaire with armes pontificaly, was ador'd and cens'd by 3 Jesuits in their copes; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, then censsing the images and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place: the crosier, w^{ch} was of silver, was put into his hand with a world of mysterious ceremony, the musiq playing, with singing. I could not have believ'd I should ever have seene such things in the King of England's Palace, after it had

¹ This collection was afterwards purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and now forms part of the British Museum. Gent. Mag. Nov. 1816, p. 395, from Mr. Bagford's papers in the Brit. Mus.

pleas'd God to enlighten this Nation ; but our greate sin has, for the present, eclips'd the blessing, w^{ch} I hope He will in mercy and his good time restore to its purity.

Little appearance of any winter as yet.

1686-87. Jan. 1st. Mr. Wake preach'd at St. Martin's on 1 Tim. 3. v. 16. concerning the mysterie of godlinesse. He wrote excellently in answer to the Bishop of Meaux.

3rd. A seal to confirm a gift of £4000 per annum for 99 yeares to the Lord Treasurer out of the Post-office, and £1700 per annum for ever out of Lord Gray's estate.

There was now another change of the greate officers. The Treasury was put into Commission, two profess'd Papists amongst them, viz. Lords Bellasis and Dover, joyn'd with the old ones, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir John Ernley.

17th. Much expectation of severall greate men declaring themselves Papists. Lord Tyrconnell gone to succeed the Lord Lieutenant [Clarendon] in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruine of the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its greate improvement going on. Much discourse that all the White Staff officers and others should be dismiss'd for adhering to their religion. Popish Justices of the Peace establish'd in all counties, of the meanest of the people ; Judges ignorant of the law, and perverting it—so furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel Princes to violent courses, and destruction of an excellent government both in Church and State. God of his infinite mercy open our eyes and turn our hearts, and establish his truth with peace ! The Lord Jesus defend his little flock, and preserve this threaten'd Church and Nation.

24th. I saw the Queenes new apartment at White-

hall, with her new bed, the embroidery of w^{ch} cost £3000. The carving about the chimney-piece, by Gibbons, is incomparable.

30th. I heard the famous eunuch Cifaccio sing in the new Popish Chapell this afternoone; it was indeede very rare, and with greate skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding—little devotion.

Feb. 27th. Mr. Chetwin preached at White-hall on 1 Rom. v. 18, a very quaint neate discourse of moral righteousness.

March 2nd. Came out a Proclamation for universal liberty of conscience in Scotland, and dispensation from all tests and lawes to the contrary, as also capacitating Papists to be chosen into all offices of trust. The mysterie operates.

3rd. Dr. Megot Deane of Winchester preached before the Princesse of Denmark on 14 Matt. v. 23. In the afternoone I went out of towne to meete my Lord Clarendon, returning from Ireland.

10th. His Ma^{ty} sent for the Commissioners of the Privy Seale this morning into his bed-chamber, and told us that tho' he had thought fit to dispose of the seale into a single hand, yet he would so provide for us as it should appeare how well he accepted our faithfull and loyal service, with many gracious expressions to this effect; upon w^{ch} we deliver'd the seale into his hands. It was by all the world both hoped and expected that he would have restor'd it to my Lord Clarendon; but they were astonish'd to see it given to Lord Arundel of Wardour, a zealous Roman Catholic. Indeede it was very hard, and look'd very unkindly, his Ma^{ty} (as my Lord Clarendon protested to me, on my going to visite him and long discoursing with him about the affaires of Ireland) finding not the least failure of duty in him during his government of that kingdom, so that his recall

plainly appeared to be from the stronger influence of the Papists, who now got all the preferments.

Most of the greate officers, both in the court and country, Lords and others, were dismiss'd, as they would not promise his Majesty their consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes against Popish Recusants. To this end most of the Parliament men were spoken to in his Ma^{ty's} closset, and such as refus'd, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of greate trial, but hardly one of them assented, which put the Popish interest much backward. The English cleargy every where preach'd boldly against their superstition and errors, and were wonderfully follow'd by the people. Not one considerable proselyte was made in all this time. The party were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the reform'd religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries. To this did not a little contribute the sermon preach'd at White-hall before the Princesse of Denmark and a great croud of people, and at least 30 of the greatest nobility, by Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells; on 8 John, v. 46 (the gospel of the day) describing thro' his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy; wresting of scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit of persecution, superstition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees, so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish priests, and their new Trent religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written word, and to persevere in the faith taught in the Church of England, whose doctrine for Catholic and soundness he preferr'd to all the communities and churches of Christians in the world; concluding with a kind of prophesy, that whatever it suffer'd, it should after

short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries, and the glory of God.

I went this evening to see the order of the boys and children at Christ's Hospital. There were neere 800 boys and girls so decently clad, cleanly lodg'd, so wholesomly fed, so admirably taught, some the mathematics, especialy the 40 of the late King's foundation, that I was delighted to see the progresse some little youths of 13 and 14 yeares of age had made. I saw them at supper, visited their dormitories, and much admir'd the order, œconomy, and excellent government of this most charitable seminary. Some are taught for the Universities, others design'd for seamen, all for trades and callings. The girles are instructed in all such worke as becomes their sex and may fit them for good wives, mistresses, and to be a blessing to their generation. They sung a psalme before they sat downe to supper in the greate hall, to an organ which play'd all the time, with such cheerfull harmony that it seem'd to me a vision of angels. I came from the place with infinite satisfaction, having never seene a more noble, pious and admirable charity. All these consisted of orphans onely.¹ The foundation was of that pious Prince King Edw. 6. whose picture (held to be an original of Holbein) is in the court where the Governors meete to consult on the affaires of the hospital, and his statue in white marble stands in a nich of the wall below, as you go to the church, which is a modern, noble and ample fabric. This foundation has had, and still has, many benefactors.

March 16th. I saw a trial of those devilish murdering mischief-doing engines called bombs, shot out of the mortar-piece on Black-heath. The distance that they are cast, the destruction they make where they fall, is prodigious.

¹ This is by no means the case now (1826).

20th. The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken) preach'd at St. Martines to a crowd of people not to be express'd, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher; the text was 26 Matt. v. 36 to verse 40. describing the bitterness of our Bl. Saviour's agony, the ardour of his love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate his patience and resignation; the means by watching against temptations, and over ourselves with fervent prayer to attaine it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most patheticall discourses. The communion followed, at which I was participant. I afterwards din'd at Dr. Tenison's with the Bishop and that young, most learned, pious, and excellent preacher, Mr. Wake.¹ In the afternoone I went to heare Mr. Wake at the new-built church of St. Anne, on 8 Mark, v. 34. upon the subject of taking up the crosse, and strenuously behaving ourselves in time of persecution, as this now threaten'd to be.

His Ma^{ty} againe prorogu'd the Parliament, foreseeing it would not remitt the laws against Papists, by the extraordinary zeale and bravery of its members, and the free renunciation of the greate officers both in court and state, who would not be prevail'd with for any temporal concerne.

25th. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martines, on 1 Peter 2. v. 24. During the service a man came into neere the middle of the church, with his sword drawne, with severall others in that posture; in this jealous time it put the congregation into greate confusion; but it appear'd to be one who fled for sanctuary, being pursued by bayliffs.

April 8th. I had a re-hearing of my great cause at the Chancery in Westm^r Hall, having 7 of the most learned council, my adversary 5, among w^{ch} were the Attorney General and late Solicitor Finch, son to

¹ Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

the Lord Chancellor Nottingham. The accompt was at last brought to one article of the surcharge, and referr'd to a Master. The cause lasted two hours and more.

10th. In the last weeke there was issu'd a Dispensation from all obligations and tests, by which Dissenters and Papists especialy had publiq liberty of exercising their severall ways of worship without incurring the penalty of the many Laws and Acts of Parliament to the contrary. This was purely obtain'd by the Papists, thinking thereby to ruine the Church of England, being now the onely Church which so admirably and strenuously oppos'd their superstition. There was a wonderful concourse of people at the Dissenters' meeting-house in this parish, and the parish church [Deptford] left exceeding thin. What this will end in, God Almighty onely knows, but it looks like confusion, which I pray God avert.

11th. To London about my suit, some terms of accommodation being propos'd.

19th. I heard the famous singer Cifaccio, esteem'd the best in Europe. Indeed his holding out and delicateness in extending and looseing a note with incomparable softnesse and sweetnesse was admirable; for the rest I found him a mere wanton, effeminate child, very coy, and proudly conceited to my apprehension. He touch'd the harpsichord to his voice rarely well. This was before a select number of particular persons whom Mr. Pepys invited to his house; and this was obtain'd by particular favour and much difficulty, the Signor much disdaining to shew his talent to any but princes.

24th. At Greenewich, at the conclusion of the Church service, there was a French sermon preach'd after the use of the English Liturgy translated into French, to a congregation of about 100 French Refugees, of whom Mons' Ruvigny was the cheife,

and had obtain'd the use of the church after the parish service was ended. The preacher pathetically exhorted to patience, constancy, and reliance on God amidst all their sufferings, and the infinite rewards to come.

May 2nd. I din'd with Mynheer Diskvelts, the Holland Ambass^r, a prudent and worthy person. There din'd Lord Middleton principal Secretary of State, Lord Pembroke, Lord Lumley, Lord Preston, Col. Fitz Patrick, and Sir John Chardin. After dinner the Ambass^r discours'd of and deplor'd the stupid folly of our politics, in suffering the French to take Luxemburg, it being a place of the most concern to have ben defended, for the interest not onely of the Netherlands, but of England.

12th. To London. Lord Sunderland being Lord President and Secretary of State, was made Kn^t of the Garter and prime favorite.—This day there was such a storme of wind as had seldom happen'd, being a sort of hurricane. It kept the flood out of the Thames, so that people went on foote over severall places above bridge. Also an earthquake in severall places in England about the time of the storme.

26th. To London about my agreement with Mr. Pretymann after my tedious suit.

June 2nd. I went to London, it having pleas'd his Ma^{ty} to grant me a Privy Seal for £6,000, for discharge of the debt I had ben so many yeares persecuted for, it being indeede for mony drawne over by my father in law S^r R. Browne, during his residence in the Court of France, and so with a much greater sum due to Sir Rich^d from his Ma^{ty}; and now this part of the arreare being paid, there remains yet due to me, as executor of S^r Rich^d, above £6,500 more; but this determining an expensive chancery suit has ben so greate a mercy and providence to

me (thro' the kindness and friendship to me of Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury) that I do acknowledge it with all imaginable thanks to my gracious God.

June 6th. I visited my Lady Pierpoint, daughter to Sir John Evelyn of Deane [in Wilts], now widow of M^r Pierpoint, and mother of the Earl of Kingston. She was now engag'd in the marriage of my cousin Evelyn Pierpoint, her second son.

There was about this time brought into the Downs a vast treasure, w^{ch} was sunk in a Spanish galloon about 45 years ago somewhere neere Hispaniola or the Bahama islands, and was now weigh'd up by some gentlemen, who were at the charge of divers, &c. to the enriching them beyond all expectation. The Duke of Albemarle's share [Governor of Jamaica] came to, I believe, £50,000.¹ Some private gentlemen who adventur'd £100 gain'd from 8 to £10,000. His Majesty's tenth was £10,000.

The Camp was now againe pitch'd at Hounslow, the Commanders profusely vying in the expence and magnificence of tents.

12th. Our Vicar preached on 2 Peter 2, v. 21, upon the danger of relapsing into sin. After this I went and heard M. Lamot, an eloquent French preacher at Greenewich, on 30 Prov. v. 8, 9, a consolatory discourse to the poore and religious refugees who escaped out of France in the cruel persecution.

16th. I went to Hampton Court to give his Ma^{ty} thanks for his late gracious favor, tho' it was but granting what was due. Whilst I was in the Council Chamber, came in some persons, at the head of

¹ The Duke's share amounted to considerably more—it was said about £90,000. A medal was struck on this occasion, which is engraved in Mr. Evelyn's book on that subject, No. LXXXVII. p. 151.

whom was a formal man with a large roll of parchment in his hand, being an *Addresse* (as he said, for he introduc'd it with a speech) of the people of Coventry, giving his Ma^{ty} their greate acknowledgments for his granting a liberty of conscience; he added that this was not the application of one party onely, but the unanimous addresse of Church of England men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, to shew how extensive his Ma^{ty}'s grace was, as taking in all parties to his indulgence and protection, which had removed all dissensions and animosities, w^{ch} would not onely unite them in bonds of Christian charity, but exceedingly encourage their future industry, to the improvement of trade, and spreading his Ma^{ty}'s glory throughout the world; and that now he had given to God his empire, God would establish his; with expressions of greate loyaltie and submission; and so he gave the roll to the King, w^{ch} being return'd to him againe, his Ma^{ty} caus'd him to read. The Addresse was short, but much to the substance of y^e speech of their foreman, to whom the King, pulling off his hat, sayd, that what he had don in giving liberty of conscience, was, what was ever his judgment ought to be don; and that as he would preserve them in their enjoyment of it during his reigne, so he would endeavour to settle it by law, that it should never be alter'd by his successors. After this he gave them his hand to kisse. It was reported the subscribers were above 1000.

But this is not so remarkable as an Addresse of the weeke before (as I was assur'd by one present) of some of the *Family of Love*. His Ma^{ty} ask'd them what this worship consisted in, and how many their party might consist of; they told him their custom was to reade the Scripture and then to preach, but did not give any farther account, onely

said that for the rest they were a sort of refin'd Quakers, but their number very small, not consisting, as they sayd, of above threescore in all, and those chiefly belonging to the Isle of Ely.

18th. I din'd at Mr. Blathwaite's (2 miles from Hampton). This gentleman is Secretary of War, Clerk of the Counsel, &c. having rais'd himselfe by his industrie from very moderate circumstances. He is a very proper, handsome person, and very dextrous in buisnesse, and besides all this, has married a greate fortune. His income by the Army, Counsel, and Secretary to y^e Committee of Forraine Plantations, brings him in above £2000 per ann.

23rd. The Privy Seale for £6000 was pass'd to me, so that this tedious affaire was dispatch'd.— Hitherto a very windy and tempestuous summer.— The French sermons to the refugees were continu'd at Greenewich Church.

July 19th. I went to Wotton. In the way I din'd at Ashted with my Lady Mordaunt.

Aug. 5th. I went to see Albury, now purchas'd by Mr. Finch (the King's Solicitor, and son to the late Lord Chancellor); I found the garden w^{ch} I first design'd for the Duke of Norfolk, nothing improv'd.

15th. I went to visite Lord Clarendon at Swallow field, where was my Lord Cornbury just ariv'd from Denmark, whither he had accompanied the Prince of Denmark two months before, and now come back. The miserable tyranny under which that nation lives, he related to us; the King keeps them under by an army of 40,000 men, all Germans, he not daring to trust his owne subjects. Notwithstanding this, the Danes are exceeding proud, the country very poore and miserable.

22nd. Returned home to Says Court from Wotton, having ben five weekes absent with my Brother and friends, who entertained us very nobly. God

be praised for his goodnesse, and this refreshment after my many troubles, and let his mercy and providence ever preserve me. Amen.

Sept. 3rd. The Lord Mayor sent me an Officer with a staff, to be one of the Governors of S^t Thomas's Hospital.

Persecution raging in France; divers churches there fir'd by lightning, priests struck, consecrated hosts, &c. burnt and destroy'd, both at S^t Malo's and Paris, at y^e grand procession on Corpus Christi day.

13th. I went to Lambeth, and din'd with the Abp. After dinner I retir'd into the library, which I found exceedingly improv'd; there are also divers rare manuscripts in a roome apart.

Oct. 6th. I was godfather to S^r John Chardin's sonn, christen'd at Greenewich Church, nam'd John. The Earle of Bath and Countesse of Carlisle, the other sponsors.

29th. An Anabaptist, a very odd ignorant person, a mechanic I think, was Lord Mayor.¹ The King and Queene, and Dadi² the Pope's Nuncio, invited to feast at Guildhall. A strange turne of affaires, that those who scandaliz'd the Church of England as favourers of Popery, should publiqly invite an emissary from Rome, one who represented the very person of their Antichrist!

Dec. 10th. My Son was return'd out of Devon, where he had ben on a commission from the Lords of the Treasury about a concealment of land.

20th. I went with my Lord Cheife Justice Herbert to see his house at Walton on Thames:³ it is

¹ Sir John Peake.

² Count D'Ada, made afterwards a Cardinal for his services in this embassy.

³ This is a mistake; the house was Oatlands in Weybridge. He followed the fortunes of King James, who gave him his great seal. He was attainted, and Oatlands given to his brother Adm.

a barren place. To a very ordinary house he had built a very handsome library, designing more building to it than the place deserves in my opinion. He desir'd my advice about laying out his gardens, &c. The next day we went to Weybridge to see some pictures of the Dutchesse of Norfolk's, particularly the statue, or child in gremio, said to be of Mich. Angelo, but there are reasons to think it rather a copy, from some proportion in the figures ill taken. It was now expos'd to sale.

1687-88. Jan. 12th. Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, being under very deplorable circumstances on account of his creditors, and especialy the King, I did my endeavor with y^e Lords of the Treasury to be favourable to him.

My Lord Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, being now married to Lady Ann Spencer, eldest daughter of the Earle of Sunderland, Lord President of the Council, I and my family had most glorious favours sent us, the wedding being celebrated with extraordinary splendour.

15th. There was a solemne and particular office us'd at our, and all the churches of London and 10 miles round, for a thanksgiving to God, for her Majesty being with child.

22nd. This afternoone I went not to church, being employed on a religious treatise I had undertaken.¹

Post annum 1588—1660—1688, Annus Mirabilis Tertius.²

Jan. 30th. Being the Martyrdome day of K. Charles y^e First, our curate made a florid oration against the Herbert. He published an apology for the judgment he had given in favour of the King's dispensing powers, which was answered by Mr. Atwood and Sir Robert Atkins. Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey, II. 786.

¹ What this was does not appear; but there are several of his composition, remaining in MS.

² This seems added after the page was written.

murder of that excellent Prince, with an exhortation to obedience from the example of David, 1 Samuel 24, v. 6.

Feb. 12th. My daughter Evelyn going in the coach to visite in the Citty, a jolt (the doore being not fast shut) flung her quite out in such manner as the hind wheelles passed over her a little above her knees. Yet it pleased God, besides the bruises of the wheelles, she had no other harme. In two days she was able to walke, and soone after perfectly well ; thro' God Almighty's greate mercy to an excellent wife and a most dutiful and discreete daughter-in-law.

17th. I receiv'd the sad news of my niece Mountague's death at Woodcot on the 15th.

Mar. 15th. I gave in my account about the Sick and Wounded, in order to have my quietus.

23rd. Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who so lately publish'd his extravagant treatise about transubstantiation, and for abrogating the Test and Penal Laws, died. He was esteem'd a violent, passionate, haughty man, but yet being press'd to declare for the Church of Rome, he utterly refus'd it. A remarkable end.

The French *Tyrant* now finding he could make no proselytes amongst those Protestants of quality, and others, whom he had caus'd to be shut up in dungeons, and confin'd to nunneries and monasteries, gave them, after so long trial, a general releasement, and leave to go out of the kingdom, but utterly taking their estates and their children ; so that greate numbers came daily into England and other places, where they were receiv'd and reliev'd with very considerate Christian charity. This Providence and goodnesse of God to those who thus constantly held out, did so work upon those miserable poore souls, who to avoyd the persecution sign'd their renunciation, and to save their estates went to masse, that reflecting on what

they had don, they grew so affected in their conscience, that not being able to support it, they in greate numbers thro' all the French provinces, acquainted the magistrates and lieutenants that, being sorry for their apostacy, they were resolv'd to return to their old religion; that they would go no more to masse, but peaceably assemble when they could, to beg pardon and worship God, but so without weapons as not to give the least umbrage of rebellion or sedition, imploring their pity and commiseration; and accordingly meeting so from time to time, the dragoon missionaries, Popish officers and priests, fell upon them, murder'd and put them to death, whoever they could lay hold on; they without the least resistance embraced death, torture or hanging, with singing psalmes and praying for their persecutors to the last breath, yet still continuing the former assembling of themselves in desolate places, suffering with incredible constancy, that thro' God's mercy they might obtain pardon for this lapse. Such examples of Christian behaviour have not ben seen since the primitive persecutions; and doubtlesse God will do some signal worke in the end, if we can with patience and resignation hold out, and depend on his Providence.

Mar. 24th. I went with S^r Charles Littleton to Sheene, an house and estate given him by Lord Brouncker; one who was ever noted for a hard, covetous, vicious man, but for his worldly craft and skill in gaming few exceeded him. Coming to die, he bequeath'd all his land, house, furniture, &c. to Sir Charles, to whom he had no manner of relation, but an ancient friendship contracted at the famous siege of Colchester, 40 yeares before. It is a pretty place, with fine gardens, and well planted, and given to one worthy of them, Sir Charles being an honest gentleman and souldier. He is brother to Sir Henry Littleton of Worcestershire, whose greate estate he

is likely to inherit, his brother being without children. They are descendants of the great lawyer of that name, and give the same arms and motto. He is married to one Mrs. Temple, formerly Maide of Honour to the late Queene, a beautiful lady, and he has many fine children, so that none envy his good fortune.

After dinner we went to see S^r W^m Temple's neere to it; the most remarkable things are his orangerie and gardens, where the wall fruit trees are most exquisitely nail'd and train'd, far better than I ever noted.

There are many good pictures, especialy of Vandyke's, in both these houses, and some few statues and small busts in the latter.

From thence to Kew, to visite Sir Henry Capell's, whose orangerie and myrtelum are most beautifull and perfectly well kept. He was contriving very high palisados of reeds to shade his oranges during the summer, and painting those reeds in oil.

April 1st. In the morning the first sermon was by Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's (at Whitehall), on 10 Luke, v. 41, 42. The holy communion follow'd, but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes zealous to hear the second sermon, to be preach'd by the Bp. of Bath and Wells, that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without greate trouble. The Princesse being come, he preach'd on 7 Mich. v. 8, 9, 10, describing the calamity of the reform'd church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her on her repentance; that as Judah emerg'd so should the now Reform'd Church, wherever insulted and persecuted. He preach'd with his accustom'd action, zeal, and energy, so that people flock'd from all quarters to hear him.

April 15th. A dry, cold, backward spring, easterly winds.

The persecution still raging in France, multitudes of Protestants, and many very considerable and greater persons flying hither, produc'd a second general contribution, the Papists, by God's Providence, as yet making small progress amongst us.

29th. The weather was, till now, so cold and sharp, by an almost perpetual east wind, which had continued many monthes, that there was little appearance of any spring, and yet the winter was very favourable as to frost and snow.

May 2nd. To London about my petition for allowances upon the account of Commissioner for Sick and Wounded in the former war with Holland.

8th. His Ma^y, alarm'd by the greater fleet of the Dutch (whilst we had a very inconsiderable one), went down to Chatham; their fleet was well prepar'd, and out, before we were in any readinesse, or had any considerable number to have encounter'd them had there been occasion, to the great reproch of the nation; whilst being in profound peace, there was a mighty land army, w^{ch} there was no need of, and no force at sea, where only was the apprehension; but the army was doubtless kept and increas'd in order to bring in and countenance Popery, the King beginning to discover his intentions, by many instances persued by the Jesuits, against his first resolution to alter nothing in the Church Establishment, so that it appear'd there can be no reliance on Popish promises.

18th. The King injoyning the ministers to read his Declaration for giving liberty of conscience (as it was styl'd) in all the churches of England, this evening, 6 Bishops, Bath and Wells,¹ Peterborough,²

¹ Thomas Ken.

² Thomas White.

Ely,¹ Chichester,² S^t Asaph,³ and Bristol,⁴ in the name of all the rest of the Bishops, came to his Ma^{ty} to petition him that he would not impose the reading of it to the several congregations within their dioceses ; not that they were averse to the publishing it for want of due tendernesse towards Dissenters, in relation to whom they should be willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter might be consider'd and settl'd in Parliament and Convocation ; but that, the Declaration being founded on such a dispensing power as might at pleasure set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, it appear'd to them illegal, as it had done to the Parliament in 1661 and 1672, and that it was a point of such consequence, that they could not so far make themselves parties to it, as the reading of it in church in time of divine service amounted to.

The King was so far incens'd at this addresse, that he with threatening expressions commanded them to obey him in reading it at their perils, and so dismiss'd them.

20th. I went to White-hall Chapell, where, after the morning lessons, the Declaration was read by one of y^e Choir who us'd to read the chapters. I heare it was in the Abby Church, Westminster, but almost universally forborne throughout all London : the consequences of which a little time will shew.

25th. All the discourse now was about the Bishops refusing to read y^e injunction for y^e abolition of the Test, &c. It seemes the injunction came so crudely from the Secretary's office, that it was neither seal'd nor sign'd in forme, nor had any lawyer ben consulted, so as the Bishops, who took all imaginable advice, put the Court to greate difficulties how to proceede against them. Greate were the consults, and a pro-

¹ Francis Turner.

² John Lake.

³ William Lloyd.

⁴ Sir John Trelawny, Bart.

clamation expected all this day, but nothing was don. The action of the Bishops was universally applauded, and reconcil'd many adverse parties, Papists only excepted, who were now exceedingly perplex'd, and violent courses were every moment expected. Report was that the Protestant secular Lords and Nobility would abett the Clergy.

The Queene Dowager, hitherto bent on her returne into Portugal, now on the sudden, on allegation of a greate debt oweing her by his Ma^{ty} disabling her, declares her resolution to stay.

News ariv'd of the most prodigious earthquake that was almost ever heard of, subverting the citty of Lima and country in Peru, with a dreadfull inundation following it.

June 8th. This day the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, S^t Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give baile for their appearance, on their not reading the declaration for liberty of conscience; they refus'd to give baile, as it would have prejudiced their peerage. The concern of the people for them was wonderfull, infinite crouds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them as they pass'd out of the barge alone the Tower-wharfe.

10th. A *young Prince* borne, which will cause disputes.

About 2 o'clock we heard the Tower ordnance discharg'd, and the bells ringing for the birth of a Prince of Wales. This was very surprizing, it having ben universally given out that her Ma^{ty} did not look till the next moneth.

13th. I went to the Tower to see the Bishops, visited the Abp. and Bps. of Ely, S^t Asaph, and Bath and Wells.

14th. Din'd with my Lord Chancellor.

15th. Being the first day of Term, the Bishops were brought to Westminster on Habeas Corpus, when the indictment was read, and they were called on to plead; their Counsel objected that the warrant was illegal, but after long debate it was over-ruled, and they pleaded. The Court then offered to take bail for their appearance, but this they refused, and at last were dismissed on their own recognizances to appeare that day fortnight; the Abp. in £200, the Bishops £100 each.

29th. They appeared; the trial lasted from 9 in the morning to past 6 in the evening, when the Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and the Court adjourned to 9 the next morning. The Jury were locked up till that time, 11 of them being for an acquittal, but one (Arnold a brewer) would not consent. At length he agreed with the others. The Cheif Justice Wright behaved with great moderation and civility to the Bishops. Alibone, a Papist, was strongly against them; but Holloway and Powell, being of opinion in their favour, they were acquitted. When this was heard, there was greate rejoicing; and there was a lane of people from the King's Bench to the water side, on their knees, as the Bishops pass'd and repass'd, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of neere 60 Earls and Lords, &c. on the bench, did not a little comfort them, but indeede they were all along full of comfort and cheerfull.

Note, they denied to pay the Lieut^t of the Tower (Hales, who us'd them very surlily) any fees, alledging that none were due.

17th. Was a day of thanksgiving in London and 10 miles about for the young Prince's birth; a form of prayer made for the purpose by the Bp. of Rochester.

The night was solemniz'd with bonfires and other fire-works, &c.

July 2nd. The two Judges, Holloway and Powell, were displaced.

3rd. I went with Dr. Godolphin and his brother Sir W^m to St. Alban's to see a library he would have bought of the widow of Dr. Cartwright, late Arch-deacon of St. Alban's, a very good collection of books, especially in divinity; he was to give £300 for them. Having seen the *greate Church*, now newly repair'd by a public contribution, we return'd home.

8th. One of the King's Chaplain's preach'd before the Princess on 14 Exodus, v. 13, "Stand still and behold the salvation of the Lord," w^{ch} he applied so boldly to the present conjuncture of the Church of England, that more could scarce be said to encourage desponders. The Popish priests were not able to carry their cause against their learned adversaries, who confounded them both by their disputes and writings.

12th. The camp now began at Hounslow, but the nation was in high discontent.

Col. Titus, Sir Hen. Vane (son of him who was executed for his treason), and some other of the Presbyterians and Independent party, were sworne of y^e Privy Council, from hopes of thereby diverting that party from going over to y^e Bishops and Church of England, which now they began to do, foreseeing the designe of the Papists to descend and take in their most hateful of heretics (as they at other times expressed them to be) to effect their own ends, now evident; the utter extirpation of the Church of England first, and then the rest would follow.

17th. This night the fireworks were plaied off, that had ben prepar'd for the Queene's up-sitting. We saw them to great advántage; they were very fine, and cost some thousands of pounds, in the

pyramids, statues, &c. but were spent too soone for so long a preparation.

26th. I went to Lambeth to visit the Archbp. whom I found very cheerfull.

Aug. 10th. Dr. Tenison now told me there would suddenly be some greate thing discover'd. This was the Prince of Orange intending to come over.

15th. I went to Althorp in Northamptonshire, 70 miles. A coach and 4 horses took up me and my Sonn at White-hall, and carried us to Dunstable, where we arriv'd and din'd at noone, and from thence another coach and 6 horses carried us to Althorp, 4 miles beyond Northampton, where we arriv'd by 7 o'clock that evening. Both these coaches were hir'd for me by that noble Countesse of Sunderland, who invited me to her house at Althorp,¹ where she entertain'd me and my Sonn with very extraordinary kindness; I stay'd till the Thursday.

18th. Dr. Jeffries, the minister of Althorp, who was my Lord's chaplain when Ambass^r in France, preach'd the shortest discourse I ever heard; but what was defective in the amplitude of this sermon, he had supplied in the largeness and convenience of the parsonage house, w^{ch} the D^r (who had at least £600 a year in spiritual advancement) had new built, and made fit for a person of quality to live in, with gardens and all accommodation according therewith.

My lady carried us to see Lord Northampton's seat, a very strong large house, built with stone, not altogether modern. They were enlarging the garden, in which was nothing extraordinary, except the iron gate opening into the park, w^{ch} indeede was very good work, wrought in flowers, painted with blue and gilded. There is a noble walk of elmes towards the front of the house by the bowling greene. I was not in any roome of the house besides a lobby looking

¹ See a former visit to this place, vol. ii. p. 312.

into the garden, where my Lord and his new Countesse (S^r Ste. Fox's daughter, whom I had known from a child) entertain'd the Countesse and her daughter the Countesse of Arran (newly married to the son of the Duke of Hamilton) with so little good grace, and so dully, that our visite was very short, and so we return'd to Althorp, 12 miles distant.

The house, or rather palace, at Althorp, is a noble uniforme pile in form of a half H, built of brick and freestone, ballustred and *à la moderne*; the hall is well, the staircase excellent; the roomes of state, gallerys, offices and furniture, such as may become a greate prince. It is situate in the midst of a garden, exquisitely planted and kept, and all this in a parke wall'd in with hewn stone, planted with rows and walkes of trees, canals and fish ponds, and stor'd with game. And what is above all this, govern'd by a lady, who without any shew of sollicitude, keepes every thing in such admirable order, both within and without, from the garret to the cellar, that I do not believe there is any in this nation, or in any other, that exceeds her in such exact order, without ostentation, but substantially greate and noble. The meanest servant is lodg'd so neate and cleanly; the service at the several tables, the good order and decency—in a word, the intire œconomy is perfectly becoming a wise and noble person. She is one who for her distinguish'd esteeme of me from a long and worthy friendship, I must ever honour and celebrate. I wish from my soul the Lord her husband (whose parts and abilities are otherwise conspicuous) was as worthy of her, as by a fatal apostacy and court ambition he has made himself unworthy. This is what she deplores, and it renders her as much affliction as a lady of greate soul and much prudence is capable of. The Countesse of Bristol, her mother, a grave and honourable lady, has the comfort of seeing her

daughter and grandchildren under the same œconomy, especially Mr. Charles Spencer,¹ a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his age, and ingenious, and under a governor of greater worth. Happy were it could as much be said of the elder brother, the Lord Spencer, who, rambling about y^e world, dishonours both his name and his family, adding sorrow to sorrow to a mother who has taken all imaginable care of his education. There is a daughter very young married to the Earl of Clancartie, who has a greater and fairer estate in Ireland, but who yet gives no great presage of worth,—so universally contaminated is the youth of this corrupt and abandon'd age! But this is againe recompenc'd by my Lord Arran, a sober and worthy gentleman, who has espous'd the Lady Ann Spencer, a young lady of admirable accomplishments and virtue.

23rd. I left this noble place and conversation, my lady having provided carriages to convey us back in the same manner as we went, and a dinner being prepared at Dunstable against our arrival. Northampton, having been lately burnt and re-edified, is now become a town that for the beauty of the buildings, especially the church and town-house, may compare with the neatest in Italy itselfe.

Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, wrote a very honest and handsome letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, excusing himselfe from sitting any longer among them, he by no means approving of their prosecuting the clergy who refus'd to reade the declaration for liberty of conscience, in prejudice of the Church of England.

¹ The eldest son dying without issue, this Charles succeeded to the title and estate, and marrying to his second wife one of the daughters and at length coheiress to John Duke of Marlborough, his son by her succeeded to that title.

The Dutch make extraordinary preparations both at sea and land, w^{ch} with the very small progresse Popery makes among us, puts us to many difficulties. The Popish Irish soldiers commit many murders and insults; the whole nation disaffected, and in apprehensions.

After long trials of the doctors to bring up the little Prince of Wales by hand (so many of her Ma^{ty's} children having died infants) not succeeding, a country nurse, the wife of a tile-maker, is taken to give it suck.

Sept. 18th. I went to London, where I found the Court in the utmost consternation on report of the Prince of Orange's landing, w^{ch} put White-hall into so panic a feare, that I could hardly believe it possible to find such a change.

Writs were issu'd in order to a Parliament, and a declaration to back the good order of elections, with great professions of maintaining the Church of England, but without giving any sort of satisfaction to the people, who shew'd their high discontent at several things in the Government.

Earthquakes had utterly demolish'd the ancient Smyrna, and several other places in Greece, Italy, and even in the Spanish Indies, forerunners of greater calamities. God Almighty preserve his Church and all who put themselves under the shadow of his wings, till these things be over-past !

30th. The Court in so extraordinary a consternation on assurance of the Prince of Orange's intention to land, that the writs sent forth for a Parliament were recall'd.

Oct. 7th. Dr. Tenison preach'd at St. Martine's, on 2 Tim. 3. v. 16. shewing the Scriptures to be our only rule of faith, and its perfection above all traditions. After w^{ch} neere 1000 devout persons partook of the communion. This sermon was chiefly occasion'd by a Jesuite, who in the Masse-house on the



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Sunday before had disparag'd the Scripture and rail'd at our translation, w^{ch} some present contradicting, they pull'd him out of the pulpit, and treated him very coarsely, insomuch that it was like to create a great disturbance in the Citty.

Hourly expectation of the Prince of Orange's invasion heighten'd to that degree that his Ma^y thought fit to abrogate the Commission for the dispensing power (but retaining his own right still to dispense with all laws) and restore the ejected Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. In the mean time he call'd over 5000 Irish, and 4000 Scots, and continued to remove Protestants and put in Papists at Portsmouth and other places of trust, and retained the Jesuits about him, increasing the universal discontent. It brought people to so desperate a passe, that they seem'd passionately to long for and desire the landing of that Prince whom they look'd on to be their deliverer from Popish tyranny, praying incessantly for an east wind, w^{ch} was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent. To such a strange temper, and unheard-of in former times, was this poore nation reduc'd, and of which I was an eye-witness. The apprehension was (and with reason) that his Majesty's forces would neither at land or sea oppose them with that vigour requisite to repel invaders.

The late imprison'd Bishops were now call'd to reconcile matters, and the Jesuites hard at worke to foment confusion among the Protestants by their usual tricks. A letter was sent to the Abp. of Canterbury,¹ informing him, from good hands, of what

¹ By Mr. Evelyn. The letter was as follows :

" My Lord, The honor and reputation which y^r Grace's piety, prudence, and signal courage, have justly merited and obtain'd, not onely from the Sons of the Church of England, but even universally from those Protestants amongst us who are Dissenters from her

was contriving by them. A paper of what the Bishops advised his Ma^{ty} was published. The Bishops were injoin'd to prepare a form of prayer against the fear'd invasion. A pardon publish'd. Souldiers and mariners daily press'd.

discipline ; God Almighty's providence and blessing upon y^r Grace's vigilancy and extraordinary endeavours will not suffer to be diminished in this conjuncture. The conversation I now and then have with some in place, who have the opportunity of knowing what is doing in the most seacret recesses and cabals of our Churches adversaries, obliges me to acquaint you, that the calling of y^r Grace and the rest of the L^{ds} Bishops to Court, and what has there of late ben requir'd of you, is onely to create a jealousy and suspicion amongst well-meaning people of such compliances as it is certaine they have no cause to apprehend. The plan of this and of all that w^{ch} is to follow of seeming favour thence, is wholly drawn by the Jesuites, who are at this time more than ever buisy to make divisions amongst us, all other arts and mechanisms having hitherto failed them. They have, with other things, contriv'd that y^r Lordships the Bishops should give his Ma^{ty} advice separately, without calling any of the rest of the Peeres, which, tho' maliciously suggested, spreads generaly about the towne. I do not at all question but y^r Grace will speedily prevent the operation of this venome, and that you will thinke it highly necessary so to do, that y^r Grace is also injoynd to compose a form of prayer, wherein the Pr. of O. is expressly to be named the Invader : of this I presume not to say any thing ; but for as much as in all the Declarations, &c. which have hitherto been published in pretended favour of the Church of England, there is not once the least mention of the *Reformed* or *Protestant Religion*, but onely of the *Church of England as by Law established*, which Church the Papists tell us is the *Church of Rome*, which is (say they) the Catholic Church of England that onely is establish'd by Law ; the Ch. of England in the Reformed sense so established is but by an usurp'd authority. The antiquity of *that* would by these words be explained, and utterly defeate this false and subdalous construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever ; if in all extraordinary offices, upon these occasions, the words *Reformed* and *Protestant* were added to that of the *Church of England by Law established*. And whosoever threatens to invade or come against us, to y^e prejudice of that Church, in God's name, be they Dutch or Irish, let us heartily pray and fight against them. My Lord, this is, I confesse, a bold, but honest period ; and tho' I am well assur'd that y^r Grace is perfectly acquainted with all this be-

Oct. 14th. The King's birth-day. No gunns from the Tower as usual. The sun eclips'd at its rising. This day signal for the victory of William the Conqueror against Harold, near Battel in Sussex. The wind, w^{ch} had been hitherto west, was east all this day. Wonderfull expectation of the Dutch fleet. Public prayers order'd to be read in the churches against invasion.

28th. A tumult in London on the rabble demolishing a Popish chapel that had ben set up in the Citty.

29th. Lady Sunderland acquainted me with his Ma^{ty's} taking away the seales from Lord Sunderland, and of her being with the Queene to intercede for him. It is conceiv'd that he had of late grown remisse in pursuing the interest of the Jesuitical counsellis; some reported one thing, some another; but there was doubtless some secret betrayed which time may discover.

There was a Counsel call'd, to w^{ch} were summon'd the Archbp. of Canterbury, the Judges, the Lord Maior, &c. The Queene Dowager, and all the ladies and lords who were present at the Queene Consort's labour, were to give their testimony upon oath of the Prince of Wales's birth, recorded both at the Counsel Board and at the Chancery a day or two after. This procedure was censur'd by some as below his Ma^{ty} to condescend to, on the talke of the people. It was remarkable that on this occasion the Abp., Marquess of Halifax, the Earles of Clarendon and Nottingham refus'd to sit at the Counsel table amongst Papists, and their bold telling his Ma^{ty} that whatever was don whilst such sat amongst them was unlawfull and incurr'd *premunire*;—at least if what I heard be true.

fore, and therefore may blame my impertinence, as that dos *αλλοτριοεπισκοπεῖν*, yet I am confident you will not reprove the zeale of one who most humbly beggs your Grace's pardon, with y^r blessing. Lond. 10 Oct. 1688." (From a copy in Mr. Evelyn's hand-writing.) See p. 63.

30th. I din'd with Lord Preston, made Secretary of State in the place of the Earle of Sunderland.

Visited Mr. Boyle, when came in the Duke of Hamilton and Earle of Burlington. The Duke told us many particulars of Mary Queene of Scots, and her amours with the Italian favourite, &c.

31st. My birth-day, being the 68th year of my age. O blessed Lord, grant that as I grow in yeares, so may I improve in grace! Be Thou my protector this following year, and preserve me and mine from those dangers and greate confusions that threaten a sad revolution to this sinfull nation! Defend thy Church, our holy religion, and just laws, disposing his Ma^{ty} to listen to sober and healing counsels, that if it be Thy blessed will we may still enjoy that happy tranquillity which hitherto Thou hast continued to us! Amen, Amen!

Nov. 1st. Din'd with Lord Preston with other company at Sir Stephen Fox's. Continual alarmes of the Prince of Orange, but no certainty. Reports of his greate losses of horse in the storme, but without any assurance. A man was taken with divers papers and printed manifestos, and carried to Newgate after examination at the Cabinet Council. There was likewise a Declaration of the States for satisfaction of all Public Ministers at the Hague, except to the English and the French. There was in that of the Prince's an expression as if the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal had invited him over, with a deduction of the causes of his enterprize. This made his Ma^{ty} convene my Lord of Canterbury and the other Bishops now in towne, to give an account of what was in the manifesto, and to enjoinne them to clear themselves by some publiq writing of this disloyal charge.

2nd. It was now certainly reported by some who saw the fleete, and y^e Prince imbarke, that they sail'd

from the Brill on Wednesday morning, and that the Princesse of Orange was there to take leave of her husband.

4th. Fresh reports of the Prince being landed somewhere about Portsmouth or the Isle of Wight, whereas it was thought it would have ben northward. The Court in greate hurry.

5th. I went to London; heard the newes of the Prince having landed at Torbay, coming with a fleete of neere 700 saile, passing through the Channell with so favourable a wind that our navy could not intercept or molest them. This put the King and Court into greate consternation; they were now employ'd in forming an army to stop their further progresse, for they were got into Exeter, and the season and ways very improper for his Ma^{ty}s forces to march so greate a distance.

The Abp. of Canterbury and some few of the other Bishops and Lords in London were sent for to White-hall, and requir'd to set forth their abhorrence of this invasion. They assur'd his Ma^{ty} they had never invited any of the Prince's party, or were in the least privy to it, and would be ready to shew all testimonie of their loyalty; but as to a public declaration, being so few, they desir'd that his Ma^{ty} would call the rest of their brethren and Peeres that they might consult what was fit to be don on this occasion, not thinking it right to publish any thing without them, and till they had themselves seen the Prince's Manifesto, in which it was pretended he was invited in by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. This did not please the King; so they departed.

A Declaration was publish'd prohibiting all persons to see or reade the Prince's Manifesto, in which was set forth at large the cause of his expedition, as there had ben one before from the States.

These are the beginnings of sorrow, unlesse God in his mercy prevent it by some happy reconciliation

of all dissentions amongst us. This, in all likelihood, nothing can effect except a free Parliament; but this we cannot hope to see whilst there are any forces on either side. I pray God to protect and direct the King for the best and truest interest of his people! — I saw his Ma^{ty} touch for the evil, Piten the Jesuit, and Warner officiating.

14th. The Prince increases every day in force. Several Lords go in to him. Lord Cornbury carries some regiments, and marches to Honiton, the Prince's head quarters. The City of London in disorder; the rabble pull'd down the nunnery newly bought by the Papists of Lord Berkeley at St. John's. The Queene prepares to go to Portsmouth for safety, to attend the issue of this commotion, w^{ch} has a dreadfull aspect.

18th. It was now a very hard frost. The King goes to Salisbury to rendezvous the army, and returns to London. Lord Delamere appears for y^e Prince in Cheshire. The nobility meete in Yorkshire. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some Bishops, and such Peeres as were in London, address his Ma^{ty} to call a Parliament. The King invites all forraine nations to come over. The French take all the Palatinate, and alarm the Germans more than ever.

29th. I went to the Royal Society. We adjourn'd the election of a President to 23 April by reason of the public commotions, yet din'd together as of custome this day.

Dec. 2nd. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martine's on 36 Psalm, verses 5, 6, 7, concerning Providence. I received the blessed sacrament. Afterwards visited my Lord Godolphin, then going with the Marquess of Halifax and Earle of Nottingham as Commissioners to the Prince of Orange; he told me they had little power. Plymouth declar'd for the Prince. Bath, York, Hull, Bristol, and all the eminent nobility

and persons of quality through England, declare for the Protestant religion and laws, and go to meete the Prince, who every day sets forth new declarations against the Papists. The greate favourites at Court, Priests and Jesuits, fly or abscond. Every thing, till now conceal'd, flies abroad in public print, and is cried about the streetes. Expectation of the Prince coming to Oxford. The Prince of Wales and greate treasure sent privily to Portsmouth, the Earle of Dover being governor. Adresse from the Fleete not gratefull to his Ma^{ty}. The Papists in offices lay down their commissions, and fly. Universal consternation amongst them; it looks like a Revolution.

7th. My Son went toward Oxford. I return'd home.

9th. Lord Sunderland meditates flight. The rabble demolish'd all Popish chapels, and severall Papist lords and gentlemen's houses, especially that of the Spanish Ambassador, w^{ch} they pillag'd, and burnt his library.

13th. The King flies to sea, puts in at Faversham for ballast; is rudely treated by the people; comes back to White-hall.

The Pr. of Orange is advanc'd to Windsor, is invited by the King to St. James's, the messenger sent was the Earle of Faversham, the General of the Forces, who going without trumpet or passeport is detain'd prisoner by the Prince, who accepts the invitation, but requires his Ma^{ty} to retire to some distant place, that his owne guards may be quarter'd about the Palace and Citty. This is taken heinously, and the King goes privately to Rochester; is persuaded to come back; comes on the Sunday; goes to masse, and dines in publiq, a Jesuit saying grace (I was present).

17th. That night was a Council; his Ma^{ty} refuses to assent to all the proposals; goes away again to Rochester.

18th. I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at 12 o'clock—a sad sight! The Prince comes to St. James's, and fills White-hall with Dutch guards. A Council of Peeres meete about an expedient to call a Parliament; adjourn to the House of Lords. The Chancellor, Earl of Peterboro', and divers others taken. The Earle of Sunderland flies; S^r Edw^d. Hales, Walker, and others, taken and secur'd.

All the world go to see the Prince at St. James's, where there is a greate Court. There I saw him, and severall of my acquaintance who came over with him. He is very stately, serious, and reserv'd. The English soldiers sent out of towne to disband them; not well pleas'd.

24th. The King passes into France, whither the Queene and child were gon a few days before.

26th. The Peeres and such Commoners as were members of the Parliament at Oxford, being the last of Charles II. meeting, desire the Pr. of Orange to take on him the disposal of the publiq revenue till a convention of Lords and Commons should meete in full body, appointed by his circular letters to the shires and burroughs, 22 Jan.—I had now quarter'd upon me a Lieut^t. Col. and 8 horses.

30th. This day prayers for the Prince of Wales were first left off in our church.

1688-89. Jan. 7th. A long frost and deepe snow; the Thames almost frozen over.

15th. I visited the Abp. of Canterbury, where I found the Bps. of St. Asaph,¹ Ely,² Bath and Wells,³ Peterborough,⁴ and Chichester,⁵ the Earles of Ailesbury and Clarendon, S^r Geo. Mackenzie Lord Advocate of Scotland, and then came in a Scotch Abp. &c. After prayers and dinner, divers serious matters were discours'd, concerning the present state of the

¹ Lloyd.

² Turner.

³ Ken.

⁴ White.

⁵ Lake.

public, and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene; some would have the Princesse made Queene without any more dispute, others were for a Regency; there was a Tory party (then so call'd) who were for inviting his Ma^{ty} againe upon conditions; and there were Republicians who would make the Pr. of Orange like a Stadtholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties to bring them into confusion; most for ambition or other interest, few for conscience and moderate resolutions. I found nothing of all this in this assembly of Bishops, who were pleas'd to admit me into their discourses; they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oathes, and so all public matters to proceede in his Ma^{ty's} name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the laws in being. Such was the result of this meeting.

My Lord of Canterbury gave me great thanks for the advertisement I sent him in Oct^r,¹ and assured me they took my counsell in that particular, and that it came very seasonably.

I found by the Lord Advocate that the Bishops of Scotland (who were indeede little worthy of that character, and had done much mischief in that Church) were now coming about to the true interest, in this conjuncture w^{ch} threatened to abolish the whole hierarchy in that kingdom; and therefore the Scottish Archbishop and Lord Advocate requested the Abp. of Canterbury to use his best endeavours with the Prince to maintain the Church there in the same state as by law at present settled.

It now growing late, after some private discourse with his Grace I took my leave, most of the Lords being gone.

The trial of the Bishops was now printed.

¹ See p. 55.

The greate Convention being assembled the day before, falling upon the question about the Government, resolved that K. James having by the advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons endeavour'd to subvert the laws of Church and State, and deserted the kingdom, carrying away the seals, &c. without any care for the management of the government, had by demise abdicated himself and wholly vacated his right; they did therefore desire the Lords concurrence to their vote, to place the crown on the next heir, the Pr. of Orange, for his life, then to the Princesse his wife, and if she died without issue, to the Princesse of Denmark, and she failing, to the heirs of the Prince, excluding for ever all possibility of admitting a Roman Catholic.

Jan. 27th. I din'd at the Admiralty, where was brought in a child not 12 yeares old, the son of one Dr. Clench, of the most prodigious maturity of knowledge, for I cannot call it altogether memory, but something more extraordinary.¹ Mr. Pepys and myselfe examined him, not in any method, but with promiscuous questions, w^{ch} required judgment and discernment to answer so readily and pertinently. There was not any thing in chronology, history, geography, the several systems of astronomy, courses of the stars, longitude, latitude, doctrine of the spheres, courses and sources of rivers, creeks, harbours, eminent cities, boundaries and bearings of countries, not only in Europe but in any other part of the earth, w^{ch} he did not readily resolve and demonstrate his knowledge of, readily drawing out with a pen any thing he would describe. He was able not only to repeate the most famous things w^{ch} are left us in any

¹ See a similar account of the afterwards celebrated Rev. William Wotton in vol. ii. p. 349, under the year 1679, July. This Dr. Clench was murdered in a hackney-coach, and one Harrison was executed for it.

of the Greek or Roman histories, monarchies, republics, wars, colonies, exploits by sea and land, but all the sacred stories of the Old and New Testament; the succession of all the monarchies, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman, with all the lower Emperors, Popes, Heresiarchs, and Councils, what they were called about, what they determined, or in the controversy about Easter, the tenets of the Gnostics, Sabellians, Arians, Nestorians; the difference between St. Cyprian and Stephen about rebaptization; the schisms. We leap'd from that to other things totally different, to Olympic yeares, and synochronismes; we ask'd him questions w^{ch} could not be resolved without considerable meditation and judgment, nay of some particulars of the Civil laws, of the Digest and Code. He gave a stupendous account of both natural and moral philosophy, and even in metaphysics. Having thus exhausted ourselves, rather than this wonderfull child, or angel rather, for he was as beautifull and lovely in countenance as in knowledge, we concluded with asking him if in all he had read, or heard of, he had ever met with any thing w^{ch} was like this expedition of the Pr. of Orange, with so small a force to obtain three greate kingdoms without any contest. After a little thought he told us that he knew of nothing w^{ch} did more resemble it than the coming of Constantine the Great out of Britain, thro' France and Italy, so tedious a march, to meet Maxentius, whom he overthrew at Pons Milvius with very little conflict, and at the very gates of Rome, w^{ch} he enter'd and was receiv'd with triumph, and obtain'd the empire, not of three kingdoms only, but of all the then known world. He was perfect in the Latine authors, spake French naturally, and gave us a description of France, Italy, Savoy, Spain, ancient and modernly divided; as also of ancient Greece, Scythia, and northern countries and tracts:

we left questioning further. He did this without any set or formal repetitions, as one who had learn'd things without book, but as if he minded other things, going about the room, and toying with a parrot there, and as he was at dinner (*tanquam aliud agens*, as it were) seeming to be full of play, of a lively, sprightly temper, allways smiling, and exceeding pleasant, without the least levity, rudeness, or childishness. His father assur'd us he never impos'd any thing to charge his memory by causing him to get things by heart, not even the rules of grammar; but his tutor (who was a Frenchman) read to him, first in French, then in Latine; that he usually play'd amongst other boys 4 or 5 hours every day, and that he was as earnest at his play as at his study. He was perfect in arithmetic, and now newly entered into Greek. In sum, (*horresco referens*,) I had read of divers forward and precece youths, and some I have known, but I never did either heare or read of any thing like to this sweete child, if it be right to call him child who has more knowledge than most men in the world. I counsell'd his father not to set his heart too much on this jewell, *Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus*, as I myself learn'd by sad experience in my most deare child Richard,¹ many yeares since, who dying before he was 6 yeares old, was both in shape and countenance and pregnancy of learning next to a prodigy.

29th. The votes of the House of Commons being carried up by Mr. Hampden their chairman to the Lords, I got a station by the Prince's lodgings at the doore of the lobby to the House, and heard much of the debate, w^{ch} lasted very long. Lord Derby was in the chair (for the House was resolv'd into a grand Committee of the whole House); after all had spoken, it came to the question, w^{ch} was carried but by three voices against a Regency, w^{ch} 51 were for, 54 against;

¹ See vol. ii. p. 95.

the minority alledging the danger of dethroning Kings, and scrupling many passages and expressions in the vote of the Commons, too long to set down particularly. Some were for sending to his Ma^{ty} with conditions; others that the King could do no wrong, and that the mal-administration was chargeable on his ministers. There were not more than eight or nine Bishops, and but two against the Regency; the Abp. was absent, and the cleargy now began to change their note, both in pulpit and discourse, on their old passive obedience, so as people began to talke of the Bishops being cast out of the House. In short, things tended to dissatisfaction on both sides; add to this, the morose temper of the Prince of Orange, who shew'd little countenance to the noblemen and others, who expected a more gracious and cherefull reception when they made their court. The English army also was not so in order, and firme to his interest, nor so weaken'd but that it might give interruption. Ireland was in an ill posture as well as Scotland. Nothing was yet done towards a settlement. God of his infinite mercy compose these things, that we may be at last a Nation and a Church under some fixt and sober establishment!

30th. The anniversary of K. Cha. Ist's *martyrdom*; but in all the publiq offices and pulpit prayers, the collects, and litany for the King and Queene were curtail'd and mutilated. Dr. Sharp preach'd before the Commons, but was disliked and not thank'd for his sermon.

31st. At our church (the next day being appointed a Thanksgiving for deliverance by the Pr. of Orange, with prayers purposely compos'd), our lecturer preach'd in the afternoone a very honest sermon shewing our duty to God for the many signal deliverances of our Church, without touching on politics.

Feb. 6th. The King's coronation day was ordered not to be observ'd, as hitherto it had ben.

The Convention of the Lords and Commons now declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queene of England, France, and Ireland, (Scotland being an independent kingdom), the Prince and Princesses being to enjoy it jointly during their lives, but the executive authority to be vested in the Prince during life, tho' all proceedings to run in both names, and that it should descend to their issue, and for want of such, to the Princesses Anne of Denmark and her issue, and in want of such, to the heirs of the body of the Prince if he survive, and that failing, to devolve to the Parliament as they should think fit. These produc'd a conference with the Lords, when also there was presented heads of such new laws as were to be enacted. It is thought on these conditions they will be proclam'd.

There was much contest about the King's abdication, and whether he had vacated the government. The Earle of Nottingham and about 20 Lords, and many Bps. enter'd their protests, but the concurrence was greates against them.

The Princess hourly expected. Forces sending to Ireland, that kingdom being in greates danger by the Earle of Tyrconnell's army, and expectations from France coming to assist them, but that King was busy in invading Flanders, and encountering the German Princes. It is likely that this will be the most remarkable summer for action, w^{ch} has happen'd in many yeares.

21st. Dr. Burnett preach'd at St. James's, on the obligation to walk worthy of God's particular and signal deliverance of the Nation and Church.

I saw *the new Queene* and *King* proclaim'd the very next day after her coming to Whitehall, Wednesday 13 Feb., with greates acclamation and gene-

rall good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, &c. It was believ'd that both, especialy the Princesse, would have shew'd some (seeming) reluctance at least, of assuming her father's Crown, and made some apology, testifying by her regret that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the Nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, w^{ch} would have shew'd very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety ; consonant also to her husband's first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the King, but of succouring the Nation ; but nothing of all this appear'd ; she came into White-hall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undresse, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from roome to roome to see the convenience of White-hall ; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queene lay, and within a night or two sate downe to play at basset, as the Queene her predecessor used to do. She smil'd upon and talk'd to every body, so that no change seem'd to have taken place at Court since her last going away, save that infinite crouds of people throng'd to see her, and that she went to our prayers. This carriage was censur'd by many. She seems to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart ; whilst the Prince her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderfull serious and silent, and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affaires : Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care.

Divers Bishops and Noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden assumption of the Crown, without any previous sending, and offering some conditions to the absent King ; or, on his not returning, or not assenting to those conditions, to have proclaim'd him Regent ; but the major part of both Houses prevail'd to make them King and Queene

immediately, and a Crowne was tempting. This was oppos'd and spoken against with such vehemence by Lord Clarendon (her owne uncle), that it put him by all preferment, w^{ch} must doubtlesse have ben as great as could have been given him. My Lord of Rochester, his brother, overshot himselfe, by the same carriage and stiffnesse, which their friends thought they might have well spar'd when they saw how it was like to be over-rul'd, and that it had ben sufficient to have declar'd their dissent with lesse passion, acquiescing in due time.

The Abp. of Canterbury and some of the rest, on scruple of conscience and to salve the oathes they had taken, enter'd their protests and hung off, especially the Abp. who had not all this while so much as appear'd out of Lambeth. This occasion'd the wonder of many who observ'd with what zeale they contributed to the Prince's expedition, and all the while also rejecting any proposals of sending againe to the absent King; that they should now raise scruples, and such as created much division among the people, greatly rejoicing the old courtiers, and especially the Papists.

Another objection was, the invalidity of what was don by a Convention onely, and the, as yet, unabrogated laws; this drew them to make themselves on the 22d [Feb.] a Parliament, the new King passing the Act with the Crowne on his head. The lawyers disputed, but necessity prevail'd, the government requiring a speedy settlement.

Innumerable were the crouds, who solicited for, and expected offices, most of the old ones were turn'd out. Two or three white staves were dispos'd of some days before, as Lord Steward, to the Earl of Devonshire; Treasurer of the Household, to Lord Newport; Lord Chamberlaine to the King, to my Lord of Dorset; but there were as yet none in offices

of the Civil Government save the Marquiss of Halifax as Privy Seal. A Council of 30 was chosen, Lord Derby president, but neither Chancellor nor Judges were yet declar'd, the new Greate Seale not yet finish'd.

Mar. 8th. Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, made an excellent discourse on 5 Matt. v. 44, exhorting to charity and forgiveness of enemies; I suppose purposely, the new Parliament being furious about impeaching those who were obnoxious, and as their custom has ever ben, going on violently without reserve or moderation, whilst wise men were of opinion the most notorious offenders being nam'd and excepted, an Act of Amnesty would be more seasonable, to pacify the minds of men in so general a discontent of the nation, especialy of those who did not expect to see the government assumed without any regard to the absent King, or proving a spontaneous abdication, or that the birth of the Prince of Wales was an imposture; five of the Bishops also still refusing to take y^e new oath.

In the mean time to gratify the people, the Hearth Tax was remitted for ever, but what was intended to supply it, besides present great taxes on land, is not nam'd.

The King abroad was now furnish'd by the French King with money and officers for an expedition to Ireland. The greate neglect in not more timely preventing that from hence, and the disturbances in Scotland, give apprehensions of greate difficulties before any settlement can be perfected here, whilst the Parliament dispose of the greate offices amongst themselves. The Greate Seal, Treasury and Admiralty put into commission of many unexpected persons, to gratify the more; so that by the present appearance of things (unless God Almighty graciously interpose and give success in Ireland and settle Scotland)

more trouble seems to threaten the nation than could be expected. In the interim the new King refers all to the Parliament in the most popular manner, but is very slow in providing against all these menaces, besides finding difficulties in raising men to send abroad; the former army which had never seen any service hitherto, receiving their pay and passing their summer in an idle scene of a camp at Hounslow, unwilling to engage, and many disaffected, and scarce to be trusted.

29th. The new King much blam'd for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruin'd by the Lord Tyrconnell and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants. Wonderfull uncertainty where King James was, whether in France or Ireland. The Scots seem as yet to favour K. William, rejecting K. James's letter to them, yet declaring nothing positively. Soldiers in England discontented. Parliament preparing the Coronation oath. Presbyterians and Dissenters displeas'd at the Vote for preserving the Protestant Religion as established by law, without mentioning what they were to have as to indulgence.

The Abp. of Canterbury and 4¹ other Bps. refusing to come to Parliament, it was deliberated whether they should incur Premunire; but it was thought fit to let this fall, and be connived at, for feare of the people, to whom these Prelates were very deare, for the opposition they had given to Popery.

Court offices distributed amongst Parliam^t men. No considerable fleete as yet sent forth. Things far

¹ Burnet names only three besides the Abp. viz. Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells. He says that at the first landing of the Prince, Ken declared heartily for him, and advised all to go to him, but went with great heat into the notion of a Regent. After this he changed his mind, came to town with intent to take the oaths, but again changed, and never did take them. Burnet's Own Time, vol. ii. p. 6.

from settled as was expected, by reason of the slothfull, sickly temper of the new King, and the Parliament's unmindfullness of Ireland, w^{ch} is likely to prove a sad omission.

The Confederates beat the French out of the Palatinate, w^{ch} they had most barbarously ruin'd.

April 11th. I saw the Procession to and from the Abby Church of Westm^r, with the greate feast in Westm^r Hall, at the Coronation of King William and Queen Mary. What was different from former Coronations was some alteration in the Coronation oath. Dr. Burnet, now made Bishop of Sarum, preach'd with greate applause. The Parliament men had scaffolds and places w^{ch} took up one whole side of the Hall. When the King and Queen had din'd, the ceremonie of the Champion, and other services by tenure were perform'd. The Parliament men were feasted in the Exchequer chamber, and had each of them a gold [Coronation] medal given them, worth five and forty shillings. On one side were the effigies of the King and Queene inclining one to the other; on the reverse was Jupiter throwing a bolt at Phaeton, the words "Ne totus absumatur:" w^{ch} was but dull, seeing they might have had out of the poet something as apposite. The sculpture was very meane.

Much of the splendor of the proceeding was abated by the absence of divers who should have contributed to it, there being but five Bishops, four Judges (no more being yet sworn), and severall noblemen and greate ladys wanting; the feast, however, was magnificent. The next day the House of Commons went and kiss'd their new Majesties' hands in the Banquetting House.

12th. I went with the Bp. of St. Asaph to visit my Lord of Canterbury at Lambeth, who had excus'd himselfe from officiating at the Coronation, w^{ch} was perform'd by the Bp. of London, assisted by the

Abp. of York. We had much private and free discourse with his Grace concerning severall things relating to the Church, there being now a Bill of Comprehension to be brought from the Lords to the Commons. I urg'd that when they went about to reform some particulars in the Liturgy, Church discipline, Canons, &c. the baptizing in private houses without necessity might be reform'd, as likewise so frequent burials in churches; the one proceeding much from the pride of women, bringing that into custom w^{ch} was only indulg'd in case of imminent danger, and out of necessity during the Rebellion, and persecution of the clergy in our late civil wars; the other from the avarice of ministers, who, in some opulent parishes, made almost as much of permission to bury in the chancel and the church, as of their livings, and were paid with considerable advantage and gifts for baptizing in chambers. To this they heartily assented, and promis'd their endeavour to get it reform'd, utterly disliking both practices as novel and indecent.

We discours'd likewise of the greate disturbance and prejudice it might cause, should the new oath, now on the anvil, be impos'd on any, save such as were in new office, without any retrospect to such as either had no office, or had ben long in office, who it was likely would have some scruples about taking a new oath, having already sworn fidelity to the government as establish'd by law. This we all knew to be the case of my Lord Abp. of Canterbury, and some other persons who were not so fully satisfied with the Convention making it an abdication of K. James, to whom they had sworn allegiance.

King James was now certainly in Ireland with the Marshall d'Estrades whom he made a Privy Counsellor; and who caus'd the King to remove the Protestant Counsellors, some whereof, it seems, had con-

tinued to sit, telling him that the King of France his master would never assist him if he did not immediately do it, by w^{ch} it is apparent how the poor Prince is manag'd by the French.

Scotland declares for K. William and Qu. Mary, with the reasons of their setting aside K. James, not as abdicating, but forfeiting his right by mal-administration; they proceeded with much more caution and prudence than we did, who precipitated all things to the greate reproch of y^e Nation, all w^{ch} had ben manag'd by some crafty ill-principled men. The new Privy Council have a Republican spirit, manifestly undermining all future succession of the Crown and prosperity of the Church of England, w^{ch} yet I hope they will not be able to accomplish so soone as they expect, tho' they get into all places of trust and profit.

21st. This was one of the most seasonable springs, free from the usual sharp east winds, that I have observ'd since the year 1660 (the year of the Restoration) which was much such an one.

26th. I heard the lawyers plead before the Lords the writ of error in the judgment of Oates, as to the charge against him of perjurie, w^{ch} after debate they referr'd to the answer of Holloway, &c. who were his Judges. I then went with the Bp. of St. Asaph to the Abp. at Lambeth, where they enter'd into discourse concerning the final destruction of Antichrist, both concluding that the third trumpet and vial were now pouring out. My Lord St. Asaph consider'd the killing of the two witnesses, to be the utter destruction of the Cevennes Protestants by the French and Duke of Savoy, and the other the Waldenses and Pyrenean Christians, who by all appearance from good history had kept the primitive faith from the very Apostles' time till now. The doubt his Grace suggested was, whether it could be made evident that

the present persecution had made so great an havoc of those faithfull people as of the other, and whether there were not yet some among them in being, who met together, it being stated from the text 11 Apoc. that they should both be slain together. They both much approv'd of Mr. Mede's way of interpretation, and that he only fail'd in resolving too hastily on the K. of Sweden's (Gustavus Adolphus) success in Germany. They agreed that it would be good to employ some intelligent French minister¹ to travel as far as the Pyrenees to understand the present state of the Church there, it being a country where hardly any one travels.

26th. There now came certain news that K. James had not only landed in Ireland, but that he had surpriz'd Londonderry, and was become master of that kingdom, to the greate shame of our Government, who had ben so often solicited to provide against it by timely succour, and w^{ch} they might so easily have don. This is a terrible beginning of more troubles, especialy should an army come thence into Scotland, people being generally disaffected here and every else, so that the sea and land men would scarce serve without compulsion.

A new oath was now fabricating for all the Cleargy to take, of obedience to the present Government, in abrogation of the former oaths of allegiance, w^{ch} it is foreseene many of the Bishops and others of the Cleargy will not take. The penalty is to be the losse of their dignitie and spiritual preferment. This is thought to have ben driven on by the Presbyterians, our new governors. God in mercy send us help, and direct the counsels to his glory and good of his Church !

Public matters went very ill in Ireland ; confusion and dissention amongst ourselves, stupidity, incon-

¹ They sent two. See afterwards.

stancy, emulation, the governors employing unskillfull men in greatest offices, no person of public spirit and ability, appearing, threaten us with a very sad prospect of what may be the conclusion, without God's infinite mercy.

A fight by Adm^l Herbert with the French, he imprudently setting on them in a creek as they were landing men in Ireland, by w^{ch} we came off with greate slaughter and little honour. So strangely negligent and remisse were we in preparing a timely and sufficient fleete. The Scots Commissioners offer the Crowne to the *new King and Queene* on conditions—Act of Poll-money came forth, sparing none.—Now appeared the Act of Indulgence for the Dissenters, but not exempting them paying dues to the Church of England Cleargy, or serving in office according to law, with severall other clauses.—A most splendid Ambassy from Holland to congratulate the King and Queene on their accession to the Crowne.

June 4th. A solemn Fast for success of the Fleete, &c.

6th. I din'd with the Bishop of Asaph; Mons^r Capellus, the learned son of the most learned Ludovicus, presented to him his father's works, not publish'd till now.

7th. I visited the Abp. of Canterbury, and stay'd with him till about 7 o'clock. He read to me the Pope's excommunication of the French King.

9th. Visited Dr. Burnett, now Bp. of Sarum; got him to let Mr. Kneller draw his picture.

16th. King James's Declaration was now dispers'd, offering pardon to all, if on his landing, or within 20 days after, they should return to their obedience.

Our fleete not yet at sea, thro' some prodigious sloth, and men minding onely their present interest; the French riding masters at sea, taking many greate prizes to our wonderfull reproch. No certaine newes

from Ireland; various reports of Scotland; discontents at home. The King of Denmark at last joins with the Confederates, and the 2 Northern Powers are reconcil'd. The East India Company likely to be dissolv'd by Parliament for many arbitrary actions. Oates acquitted of perjurie, to all honest men's admiration.

20th. Newes of *a Plot* discover'd, on w^{ch} divers were sent to the Tower and secured.

23rd. An extraordinary drowth, to the threatening of greate wants as to the fruits of y^e earth.

July 8th. I sat for my picture to Mr. Kneller, for Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, holding my "Sylva" in my right hand.¹ It was on his long and earnest request, and is plac'd in his library. Kneller never painted in a more masterly manner.

11th. I din'd at Lord Clarendon's, it being his lady's wedding-day, when about 3 in the afternoone, there was an unusual and violent storm of thunder, rain, and wind; many boats on the Thames were overwhelm'd, and such was the impetuosity of the wind as to carry up the waves in pillars and spouts most dreadfull to behold, rooting up trees and ruining some houses. The Countess of Sunderland afterwards told me that it extended as far as Althorp at the very time, w^{ch} is 70 miles from London. It did no harm at Deptford, but at Greenwich it did much mischief.

16th. I went to Hampton Court about businesse, the Council being there. A greate appartment and spacious garden with fountaines was beginning in the parke at the head of the canal.

19th. The Marshall de Schomberg went now as

¹ Now at Wotton. A copy of it was given by the late Sir Frederick Evelyn to the Earl of Harcourt a few years ago. An engraving has been executed from the original picture, and forms one of the embellishments to these Memoirs.

General towards Ireland, to the reliefe of Londonderry. Our fleete lie before Brest. The Confederates passing the Rhine, besiege Bonn and Mayence, to obtain a passage into France. A greate victory got by the Muscovites, taking and burning Precop. A new rebel against the Turks threatens the destruction of that tyranny. All Europe in armes against France, and hardly to be found in history so universal a face of war.

The Convention (or Parliament as some call'd it) sitting, exempt the Duke of Hanover from the succession to the Crowne, w^{ch} they seeme to confine to the present new King, his wife, and Princesse Ann of Denmark, who is so monstrously swollen that its doubted whether her being thought with child may prove a tympany onely, so that the unhappy family of the Stuarts seems to be extinguishing, and then what government is likely to be next set up is unknown, whether regal and by election, or otherwise, the Republicans and Dissenters from the Church of England evidently looking that way.

The Scots have now againe voted down Episcopacy there.—Greate discontents thro' this nation at the slow proceedings of the King, and the incompetent instruments and officers he advances to the greatest and most necessary charges.

Aug. 23rd. Came to visite me Mr. Firmin.¹

25th. Hitherto it has ben a most seasonable summer.—Londonderry reliev'd after a brave and wonderfull holding out.

¹ He was a man of the most amiable character and most unbounded charity: a great friend of Sir Robert Clayton, who after his death erected a monument for him in a walk which he had formed at Sir Robert's seat at Marden in Surrey. He was very fond of gardens, and so far of a congenial spirit with Mr. Evelyn. He was an Unitarian, but lived in intimacy with many of the most eminent clergy. His life was printed in a small volume. See more of him in the *History of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 804, 805.

Sept. 21st. I went to visit the Abp. of Canterbury since his suspension, and was receiv'd with greate kindness.—A dreadful fire happen'd in Southwark.

Oct. 2nd. Came to visit us the Marquiss de Ruignè, and one Mons^r le Coque, a French refugee, who left greate riches for his religion; a very learned, civil person; he married the sister of the Dutchess de la Force.—Ottobone, a Venetian Cardinal, 80 yeares old, made Pope.¹

31st. My birth day, being now 69 years old. Blessed Father, who hast prolonged my years to this great age, and given me to see so great and wonderfull revolutions, and preserv'd me amidst them to this moment, accept I beseech thee the continuance of my prayers and thankfull acknowledgments, and grant me grace to be working out my salvation and redeeming the time, that thou mayest be glorified by me here, and my immortal soul sav'd whenever thou shalt call for it, to perpetuate thy praises to all eternity, in that heavenly kingdom where there are no more changes or vicissitudes, but rest and peace and joy and consummate felicity for ever. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Jesus thine only Son and our Saviour. Amen.

Nov. 5th. The Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Almoner, preach'd before the King and Queene, the whole discourse being an historical narrative of the Church of England's severall deliverances, especialy that of this anniversary, signaliz'd by being also the birth-day of the Pr. of Orange, his marriage (w^{ch} was on the 4th) and his landing at Torbay this day. There was a splendid ball and other rejoicings.

10th. After a very wet season, the winter came on severely.

17th. Much wet, without frost, yet the wind north

¹ Peter Otthobonus succeeded Innocent XI. as Pope in 1689, by the title of Alexander VIII.

and easterly.—A Convocation of the Cleargy meet about a Reformation of our Liturgy, Canons, &c. obstructed by others of the Cleargy.

27th. I went to London with my family to winter at Soho, in the great square.

1689-90. Jan. 11th. This night there was a most extraordinary storme of wind, accompanied with snow and sharp weather; it did greate harme in many places, blowing down houses, trees, &c. killing many people. It began about 2 in the morning, and lasted till 5, being a kind of hurricane, w^{ch} mariners observe have begun of late yeares to come northward. This winter has ben hitherto extremely wet, warm, and windy.

12th. There was read at St. Ann's Church an exhortatory letter to the Cleargy of London from the Bishop, together with a brief for relieving the distress'd Protestants, the Vaudois, who fled from the persecution of the French and Duke of Savoy, to the Protestant Cantons of Swisserland.

The Parliament was unexpectedly prorogued to 2d April, to the discontent and surprise of many members, who being exceeding averse to the settling of any thing, proceeding with animosities, multiplying exceptions against those whom they pronounc'd obnoxious, and producing as universal a discontent against K. William and themselves, as there was before against King James.—The new King resolv'd on an expedition into Ireland in person. About 150 of the members who were of the more Royal party, meeting at a feast at the Apollo Tavern near St. Dunstan's, sent some of their company to the King, to assure him of their service; he return'd his thanks, advising them to repaire to their severall counties and preserve the peace during his absence, and assuring them that he would be steady to his resolution of defending the Laws and Religion establish'd.—

The great Lords suspected to have counsell'd this prorogation, universally denied it. However, it was believ'd the cheife adviser was the Marquiss of Carmarthen,¹ who now seem'd to be most in favor.

Feb. 2nd. The Parliament was dissolv'd by proclamation, and another call'd to meet the 20 of March. This was a second surprize to the former members; and now the Court party, or, as they call themselves, Church of England, are making their interests in the country. The Marquiss of Halifax lays down his office of Privy Seal, and pretends to retire.

16th. The Dutchess of Monmouth's Chaplain preach'd at St. Martin's an excellent discourse, exhorting to peace and sanctity, it being now the time of very great division and dissention in the nation; first, amongst the churchmen, of whom the moderate and sober part were for a speedy reformation of divers things, w^{ch} it was thought might be made in our Liturgy, for the inviting of Dissenters; others, more stiff and rigid, were for no condescension at all. Books and pamphlets were publish'd every day *pro* and *con.*; the Convocation were forc'd for the present to suspend any further progress.—There was fierce and greate carousing about being elected in the new Parliament.—The King persists in his intention of going in person for Ireland, whither the French are sending supplies to K. James, and we the Danish horse to Schomberg.

19th. I din'd with the Marquis of Carmarthen (late Lord Danby), where was Lieut^t Gen^l Douglas, a very considerate and sober commander, going for Ireland. He related to us the exceeding neglect of the English souldiers, suffering severely for want of cloaths and necessaries this winter, exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all their hard-

¹ Osborne Lord Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds.

ships. There din'd also Lord Lucas, Lieut^t of the Tower, and the Bp. of St. Asaph.—The Privy Seale was again put in commission, Mr. Cheny (who married my kinswoman Mrs. Pierrepont), S^r Tho^s Knatchbull, and S^r P. W. Poultney.—The impudence of both sexes was now become so greate and universal, persons of all ranks keeping their courtezans publicly, that the King had lately directed a letter to the Bishops to order their cleargy to preach against that sin, swearing, &c. and to put the ecclesiastical laws in execution without any indulgence.

Feb. 25th. I went to Kensington, w^{ch} King William had bought of Lord Nottingham, and alter'd, but was yet a patch'd building, but with the garden, however, it is a very sweete villa, having to it the park and a straight new way through this park.

Mar. 7th. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, where that excellent shipwright and seaman (for so he had ben and also a Commiss^r of the Navy) S^r Anth^y Deane. Amongst other discourse, and deploring the sad condition of our navy, as now govern'd by unexperienc'd men since this Revolution, he mention'd what exceeding advantage we of this nation had by being the first who built fregats, the first of w^{ch} ever built was that vessell w^{ch} was afterwards call'd The Constant Warwick, and was the work of Pett¹ of Chatham, for a trial of making a vessell that would sail swiftly; it was built with low decks, the guns lying neere the water, and was so light and swift of sailing, that in a short time he told us she had, ere the Dutch war was ended, taken as much money from privateers as would have laden her; and that more such being built did in a year or two scour the Channell from those of Dunkirk and others w^{ch} had exceedingly infested it. He added that it would be the best and onely infallible

¹ See vol. ii. p. 160.

expedient to be masters of the sea, and able to destroy the greatest navy of any enemy, if instead of building huge greate ships and second and third rates, they would leave off building such high decks, w^{ch} were for nothing but to gratify gentlemen commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp ; that it would be the ruin of our fleets if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience w^{ch} those who were bred seamen would undergo, in those so otherwise usefull swift fregats. These being to encounter the greatest ships would be able to protect, set on, and bring off, those who should manage the fire-ships ; and the Prince who should first store himselfe with numbers of such fire-ships would, thro' the help and countenance of such fregats, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships as could be sent to sea, by the dexterity of working those light, swift ships to guard the fire-ships. He concluded there would shortly be no other method of sea-fight, and that great ships and men of war, however stor'd with guns and men, must submit to those who should encounter them with far less number. He represented to us the dreadfull effect of these fire-ships ; that he continually observ'd in our late maritime war with the Dutch, that when an enemy's fire-ship approach'd, the most valiant commander and common sailors were in such consternation, that tho' then, of all times, there was most need of the guns, boomes, &c. to keep the mischeif off, they grew pale and astonish'd, as if of a quite other mean soul, that they slunk about, forsook their guns and work as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of their ship, tho' sure to be drown'd if they did so. This he said was likely to prove hereafter the method of

sea-fight, likely to be the misfortune of England if they continued to put gentlemen commanders over experienc'd seamen, on account of their ignorance, effeminacy, and insolence.

9th. Preach'd at White-hall Dr. Burnet, late Bishop of Sarum, on 4 Heb. v. 13, anatomically describing the texture of the eye; and that as it received such innumerable sorts of speies thro' so very small a passage to the braine, and that without the least confusion or trouble, and accordingly judg'd and reflected on them; so God who made this sensorie, did with the greatest ease and at once see all that was don thro' the vast universe, even to the very thought as well as action. This similitude he continued with much perspicuity and aptnesse; and applied it accordingly, for the admonishing us how uprightly we ought to live and behave ourselves before such an all-seeing Deity; and how we were to conceive of other his attributes, which we could have no idea of than by comparing them by what we were able to conceive of the nature and power of things, which were the objects of our senses; and therefore it was that in Scripture we attribute those actions and affections of God by the same of man, not as adequately or in any proportion like them, but as the only expedient to make some resemblance of his divine perfections: as when the Scripture says, "God will remember the sinns of y^e penitent no more:" not as if God could forget any thing, but as intimating he would passe by such penitents and receive them to mercy.

I din'd at the Bp. of St. Asaph's, Almoner to the new Queene, with the famous lawyer S^r Geo. Mackenzie (late Lord Advocate of Scotland), against whom both the Bp. and myselfe had written and publish'd books, but now most friendly reconcil'd.¹

¹ Sir George had written in praise of a Private Life, which Mr.

He related to us many particulars of Scotland, the present sad condition of it, the inveterate hatred which the Presbyterians shew to the family of the Stewarts, and the exceeding tyranny of those bigots who acknowledge no superior on earth, in civil or divine matters, maintaining that the people onely have the right of government; their implacable hatred to the Episcopal Order and Church of England. He observ'd that the first Presbyter dissents from our discipline were introduc'd by the Jesuites order, about the 20 of Queene Eliz., a famous Jesuite amongst them faining himselve a Protestant, and who was the first who began to pray extempory, and brought in that w^{ch} they since call'd, and are still so fond of, praying by the Spirit. This Jesuite remain'd many yeares before he was discover'd, and afterwards died in Scotland, where he was buried at having yet on his monument, "*Rosa inter spinas.*"

11th. I went againe to see Mr. Charleton's¹ curiosities both of art and nature, and his full and rare collection of medails, which taken altogether, in all kinds, is doubtless one of the most perfect assemblage of rarities that can be any where seene. I much admir'd the contorsions of the Thea roote, w^{ch} was so perplex'd, large, and intricate, and withall hard as box, that it was wonderfull to consider.—The French have landed in Ireland.

16th. A public fast.

May 24th. Citty charter restor'd. Divers exempted from pardon.

June 4th. King William set forth on his Irish expedition, leaving the Queene Regent.

Evelyn answered by a book in praise of Public Life and Active Employment; see the Introduction to vol. i. As to the Bishop's book, see Biog. Brit. articles Lloyd and Mackenzie.

¹ See p. 29.

10th. Mr. Pepys read to me his Remonstrance, shewing with what malice and injustice he was suspected with S^r Anth. Deane about the timber of w^{ch} the 30 ships were built by a late Act of Parliament, with the exceeding danger w^{ch} the fleete would shortly be in, by reason of the tyranny and incompetency of those who now manag'd the Admiralty and affaires of the Navy, of w^{ch} he gave an accurate state, and shew'd his greate ability.

18th. Fast-day. Visited the Bp. of St. Asaph; his conversation was on the Vaudois in Savoy, who had ben thought so neere destruction and final extirpation by the French, being totally given up to slaughter, so that there were no hopes for them; but now it pleas'd God that the Duke of Savoy, who had hitherto join'd with the French in their persecution, was now press'd by them to deliver up (Saluce) ¹ and Turin as cautionary towns, on suspicion that he might at last come into the Confederacy of the German Princes, did seacretly concert measures with, and afterwards declar'd for them. He then invited these poore people from their dispersion amongst the mountains whither they had fled, and restor'd them to their country, their dwellings, and the exercise of their religion, and begg'd pardon for the ill usage they had receiv'd, charging it on the cruelty of the French who forc'd him to it. These being the remainder of those persecuted Christians w^{ch} the Bp. of St. Asaph had so long affirm'd to be the two witnesses spoken of in the Revelation, who should be kill'd and brought to life againe, it was look'd on as an extraordinary thing that this prophesying Bishop should persuade two fugitive ministers of the Vaudois ² to returne to their country, and furnish them with £20 towards their journey, at that very time when nothing but universal destruc-

¹ Sed quære.

² See p. 75.

tion was to be expected, assuring them and shewing them from the Apocalypse that their countrymen should be return'd safely to their country before they arriv'd. This happening contrary to all expectation and appearance, did exceedingly credit the Bishop's confidence how that prophecy of the witnesses should come to pass, just at the time, and the very month he had spoken of some yeares before. I afterwards went with him to Mr. Boyle and Lady Ranelagh his sister, to whom he explain'd the necessity of it so fully, and so learnedly made out, with what events were immediately to follow, viz. the French King's ruine, the calling of the Jewes to be neere at hand, but that the Kingdom of Antichrist would not yet be utterly destroy'd, till 30 years, when Christ should begin the Millenium, not as personally and visibly reigning on earth, but that the true religion and universal peace should obtain thro' all the world. He shew'd how Mr. Brightman, Mr. Mede, and other interpreters of these events fail'd, by mistaking and reckoning the yeare as the Latines and others did, to consist of the present calculation, so many days to the yeare, whereas the Apocalypse reckons after the Persian account, as Daniel did, whose visions St. John all along explains as meaning only the Christian Church.

24th. Din'd with Mr. Pepys, who the next day was sent to the Gate-house,¹ and severall great persons to the Tower, on suspicion of being affected to King James; amongst them was the Earl of Clarendon, the Queene's uncle.—King William having vanquish'd K. James in Ireland, there was much public rejoicing. It seemes the Irish in K. James's army would not stand, but the English-

¹ By Grey's Parliamentary Debates it appears that he was accused of having sent information to the French Court of the state of the English navy.

Irish and French made greate resistance. Schomberg was slain, and Dr. Walker who so bravely defended Londonderry. King William receiv'd a slight wound by the grazing of a cannon-bullet on his shoulder, w^{ch} he indur'd with very little interruption of his pursuit. Hamilton, who broke his word about Tyrconnell, was taken. It is reported that K. James is gon back to France. Drogheda and Dublin surrendered, and if K. William be returning, we may say of him as Cæsar said, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" But to alloy much of this, the French fleete rides in our Channell, ours not daring to interpose, and the enemy threatening to land.

27th. I went to visite some friends in the Tower, when asking for Lord Clarendon, they by mistake directed me to the Earl of Torrington, who about 3 days before had ben sent for from the fleete, and put into the Tower for cowardice and not fighting the French fleete, w^{ch} having beaten a squadron of the Hollanders, whilst Torrington did nothing, did now ride masters of the sea, threatening a descent.

July 20th. This afternoone a camp of about 4000 men was begun to be form'd on Blackheath.

30th. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, now suffer'd to return to his house, on account of indisposition.

Aug. 1st. The Duke of Grafton came to visite me, going to his ship at the mouth of the river, in his way to Ireland (where he was slain).

3rd. The French landed some soldiers at Teinemouth in Devon, and burnt some poore houses.—The French fleete still hovering about the Western coast, and we having 300 sail of rich merchant ships in the Bay of Plymouth, our fleete begin to move towards them, under three Admirals. The country in the West all on their guard.—A very extraordinary fine season, but on the 12th was a very greate storm of thunder and lightning, and on the 15th

the season much chang'd to wet and cold.—The militia and train'd bands, horse and foote, w^{ch} were up thro' England, were dismiss'd. The French King having newes that K. W^m was slaine, and his army defeated in Ireland, caus'd such a triumph at Paris, and all over France, as was never heard of, when in the midst of it, the unhappy King James being vanquish'd, by a speedy flight and escape, himselfe brought the newes of his own defeate.

15th. I was desir'd to be one of the bail of the Earl of Clarendon, for his release from the Tower, with divers Noblemen.—The Bp. of St. Asaph expounds his prophecies to me and Mr. Pepys, &c. The troops from Blackheath march to Portsmouth.—That sweete and hopefull youth, S^r Cha. Tuke, died of the wounds he receiv'd in the fight of the Boyne, to the greate sorrow of all his friends, being (I think) the last male of that family, to w^{ch} my wife is related. A more virtuous young gentleman I never knew; he was learned for his age, having had the advantage of the choicest breeding abroad, both as to arts and arms; he had travell'd much, but was so unhappy as to fall on the side of the unfortunate King.

The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hinder'd, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be rais'd. K. William return'd to England.—Lord Sydney left Governor of what is conquer'd in Ireland, w^{ch} is neere 3 parts [in 4].

17th. A public fast.—An extraordinary sharp, cold, east wind.

Oct. 12th. The French General, with Tyrconnell and their forces, gon back to France, beaten out by K. William.—Cork deliver'd on discretion. The Duke of Grafton was there mortally wounded and dies.—Very greate storms of wind. The 8th of this

month Lord Spencer wrote me word from Althorp, that there happen'd an earthquake the day before in the morning, w^{ch} tho' short, sensibly shook the house. The Gazette acquainted us that the like happen'd at the same time, half past 7, at Barnstaple, Holyhead, and Dublin. Wee were not sensible of it here.

26th. Kinsale at last surrender'd, mean time K. James's party burn all the houses they have in their power, and amongst them that stately palace of Lord Ossory's, w^{ch} lately cost, as reported, £40,000. By a disastrous accident a third rate ship, the Breda, blew up and destroyed all on board; in it were 25 prisoners of war. She was to have sail'd for England the next day.

Nov. 3rd. Went to the Countess of Clancarty to condole with her concerning her debauch'd and dissolute son, who had done so much mischief in Ireland, now taken and brought prisoner to the Tower.

16th. Exceeding greate storms, yet a warm season.

23rd. Carried Mr. Pepys's memorials to Lord Godolphin, now resuming the commission of the Treasury to the wonder of all his friends.

Dec. 1st. Having ben chosen President of the Royal Society, I desir'd to decline it, and with greate difficulty devolv'd the election on S^r Rob^t Southwell, Secretary of State to King William in Ireland.

20th. Dr. Hough, President of Magdalen Coll. Oxford, who was displac'd with severall of the Fellows for not taking the oath impos'd by K. James, now made a Bishop.¹—Most of this month cold and

¹ In 1699 Dr. Hough was translated to Lichfield and Coventry: in 1717 he became Bp. of Worcester, which he held till 1743, when he died, 8th May, at the great age of 93. His conversation and familiar letters, at the close of his life had the cheerfulness and spirit of youth. He was a genuine patriot; the delight of the church; a thorn in the side of oppression; a pillar of religion; a

frost.—One Johnson, a knight, was executed at Tyburn for being an accomplice with Campbell, brother to Lord Argyle, in stealing a young heiress.

1690-1. Jan. 4th. This weeke a *plot* was discover'd for a generall rising against the new Government for w^{ch} (Henry) Lord Clarendon and others were sent to the Tower. The next day I went to see Lord Clarendon. The Bishop of Ely¹ search'd for.—Trial of Lord Preston, as not being an English Peer, hasten'd at the Old Bailey.

18th. Lord Preston condemn'd about a design to bring in K. James by the French. Ashton executed. The Bp. of Ely, Mr. Graham, &c. absconded.

Mar. 13th. I went to visite Mons^r Justell and the Library at S^t James's, in which that learned man had put the MSS. (w^{ch} were in good number) into excellent order, they having laid neglected for many yeares. Divers medails had ben stolen and embezzled.

21st. Din'd at S^r W^m Fermor's, who shew'd me many good pictures. After dinner a French servant play'd rarely on the lute. S^r W^m had now bought all the remaining statues collected with so much expence by the famous Tho. Earle of Arundel, and sent them to his seat at Easton neere Towcester.²

25th. Lord Sidney, principal Secretary of State, gave me a letter to Lord Lucas, Lieut^t of the Tower,

father of the indigent; and a friend to all. His Memoirs were published in a quarto volume, in 1812, by John Wilmot, Esq., illustrated with two fine portraits, and other appropriate embellishments.

¹ Dr. Turner, who though one of the six Bishops sent to the Tower for the petition to the King, declined taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary.

² They are now at Oxford, having been presented to the University in 1755 by Henrietta Countess-dowager of Pomfret, widow of Thomas the first Earl.

to permit me to visite Lord Clarendon, which this day I did, and din'd with him.

April 10th. This night a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the stone gallery at White-hall to the water-side, beginning at the apartment of the late Dutchesse of Portsmouth (w^{ch} had ben pull'd down and rebuilt no lesse than three times to please her), and consuming other lodgings of such lewd creatures, who debauch'd both K. Cha. 2, and others, and were his destruction.—The King return'd out of Holland just as this accident happen'd.—Proclamation against Papists, &c.

16th. I went to see Dr. Sloane's curiosities, being an universal collection of the natural productions of Jamaica, consisting of plants, fruits, corals, minerals, stones, earth, shells, animals, and insects, collected with greate judgment; severall folios of dried plants, and one which had about 80 severall sorts of ferns, and another of grasses; the Jamaica pepper, in branch, leaves, flower, fruit, &c. This collection,¹ with his Journal and other philosophical and natural discourses and observations, indeede very copious and extraordinary, sufficient to furnish a history of that island, to w^{ch} I encourag'd him.

19th. The Abp. of Cant^y, and Bps. of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterboro', Gloucester, and the rest who would not take the oaths to K. William, were now displaced, and in their rooms, Dr. Tillotson, Dean of S^t Paul's, was made Abp.; Patrick remov'd from Chichester to Ely, Cumberland² to Glouc^r.

¹ It now forms part of the splendid collections in the British Museum. In 1707 he published the first volume of his *Natural History of Jamaica*, in folio, with numerous plates; but the second volume did not appear till 1725. Sir Hans died Jan. 11, 1752.

² A mistake. Dr. Edward Fowler was made Bishop of Gloucester in the place of Dr. Robert Frampton, deprived for not taking the oaths.

April 22nd. I din'd with Lord Clarendon in the Tower.

24th. I visited the Earl and Countesse of Sunderland, now come to kisse the King's hand, after his returne from Holland. This is a mystery. The King preparing to return to the army.

May 7th. I went to visite the Archbp. of Canterbury [Sancroft] yet at Lambeth. I found him alone, and discoursing of the times, especialy of the new design'd Bishops; he told me that by no canon or divine law they could justifie the removing the present incumbents; that Dr. Beveridge, designed Bishop of Bath and Wells, came to ask his advice; that the Abp. told him, tho' he should give it, he believ'd he would not take it; the D^r said he would; why then, says the Abp. when they come to aske, say *Nolo*, and say it from y^e heart, there's nothing easier than to resolve y^r selfe what is to be don in the case; the D^r seem'd to deliberate. What he will do I know not, but Bishop Ken, who is to be put out, is exceedingly beloved in his diocese, and if he and the rest should insist on it and plead their interest as freeholders, 'tis believ'd there would be difficulty in their case, and it may indanger a schisme and much disturbance, so as wise men thinke it had ben better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turne them out for refusing to sweare against their consciences. I asked at parting, when his Grace removed; he sayd that he had not yet receiv'd any summons, but I found the house altogether disfurnish'd, and his books packing up.

June 1st. I went with my Son, and Brother-in-law Glanvill and his son, to Wotton, to solemnize the funeral of my Nephew, w^{ch} was perform'd the next day very decently and orderly by the herauld, in the afternoon, a very greate appearance of the country being there. I was the cheife mourner; the pall was

held by S^r Francis Vincent, S^r Rich^d Onslow, Mr. Tho. Howard (son to S^r Robert) and Capt. of the King's Guard, Mr. Hyldiard, Mr. James, Mr. Herbert, nephew to Lord Herbert of Cherbury and cousin-german to my deceas'd Nephew. He was laid in the vault at Wotton church, in the burying-place of the family. A greate concourse of coaches and people accompanied the solemnity.

10th. I went to visite Lord Clarendon, still prisoner in the Tower, tho' Lord Preston being pardon'd was releas'd.

17th. A Fast.

July 11th. I din'd with Mr. Pepys, where was Dr. Cumberland the new Bishop of Norwich,¹ Dr. Lloyd having been put out for not acknowledging the Government. Cumberland is a very learned, excellent man.—Possession was now given to Dr. Tillotson at Lambeth, by the Sheriff; Abp. Sancroft was gon, but he had left his nephew to keepe possession; and he refusing to deliver it up on the Queene's message, was dispossess'd by y^e Sheriff and imprison'd. This stout demeanor of the few Bishops who refus'd to take the oathes to K. William, animated a greate party to forsake the churches, so as to threaten a schisme; tho' those who look'd further into the ancient practice, found that when (as formerly) there were Bishops displac'd on secular accounts, the people never refus'd to acknowledge the new Bishops, provided they were not heretics. The truth is, the whole cleargy had till now stretch'd the duty of passive obedience, so that the proceedings against these Bishops gave no little occasion of exceptions; but this not amounting to heresy, there was a necessity of receiving y^e new Bishops, to pre-

¹ A mistake. Dr. Cumberland was made Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. John Moore succeeded Dr. Lloyd in the See of Norwich.

vent a failure of that order in the Church. — I went to visite Lord Clarendon in the Tower, but he was gon into the country for aire by the Queene's permission, under y^e care of his warden.

18th. To London to hear Mr. Stringfellow preach his first sermon in the new erected church of Trinity, in Conduit Street; to w^{ch} I did recommend him to Dr. Tenison for the constant preacher and lecturer. This church, formerly built of timber on Hounslow Heath by K. James for the mass priests, being begg'd by Dr. Tenison rector of St. Martin's, was set up by that publiq minded, charitable and pious man neere my Son's dwelling in Dover Streete, cheifly at the charge of the Doctor. I know him to be an excellent preacher and a fit person. This church, tho' erected in St. Martin's, w^{ch} is the Doctor's parish, he was not onely content, but was the sole industrious mover, that it should be made a separate parish, in regard of the neighbourhood having become so populous. Wherefore to countenance and introduce the new minister, and take possession of a gallery design'd for my Son's family, I went to London, where,

19th, in the morning Dr. Tenison preach'd the first sermon, taking his text from 26 Psalm, v. 8. "Lord I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth." In concluding he gave that this should be made a parish church so soone as the Parliament sate, and was to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity,¹ in honor of the three undivided persons in the Deity; and he minded them to attend to that faith of the Church, now especially

¹ This was never made a parish church, but still remains a chapel, and is private property. But under the Act for building 50 new Churches, one was built in the street between Conduit Street and Hanover Square, the first stone being laid 20th June, 1712; it was dedicated to St. George, and part of St. Martin's was made a separate parish, now called St. George Hanover Square.

that Arianism, Socinianism, and Atheism began to spread amongst us.—In the afternoone Mr. Stringfellow preach'd on 7 Luke, v. 5, “the Centurion who had built a synagogue.” He proceeded to the due praise of persons of such public spirit, and thence to such a character of pious benefactors in the person of the generous centurion, as was comprehensive of all the virtues of an accomplished Christian, in a style so full, eloquent and moving, that I never heard a sermon more apposite to the occasion. He modestly insinuated the obligation they had to that person who should be the author and promoter of such public works for the benefit of mankind, especialy to the advantage of religion, such as building and endowing churches, hospitals, libraries, schools, procuring the best editions of usefull books, by w^{ch} he handsomely intimated who it was that had ben so exemplary for his benefaction to that place. Indeed that excellent person Dr. Tenison had also erected and furnish'd a public library¹ [in St. Martin's]; and set up two or three free schools at his own charges. Besides this, he was of an exemplary holy life, took greate pains in constantly preaching, and incessantly employing himselfe to promote the service of God both in public and private. I never knew a man of a more universal and generous spirit, with so much modesty, prudence, and piety.

The greate victory of K. William's army in Ireland was look'd on as decisive of that war. The French General S^t Ruth, who had ben so cruel to the poore Protestants in France, was slain, with divers of the best Commanders; nor was it cheape to us, having 1000 kill'd, but of the enemy 4 or 5000.

26th. An extraordinary hot season, yet refresh'd by some thunder showers.

28th. I went to Wotton.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 428.

Aug. 2nd. No sermon in the church in the afternoon, and the curacy ill serv'd.

16th. A sermon by the curate; an honest discourse, but read without any spirit or seeming concern; a greate fault in the education of young preachers.—Great thunder and lightning on Thursday [20], but the rain and wind very violent.—Our fleete come in to lay up the greate ships; nothing done at sea, pretending that we cannot meete the French.

Sept. 13th. A greate storm at sea, we lost the Coronation and Harwich, above 600 men perishing.

Oct. 14th. A most pleasing autumn.—Our navy come in without having perform'd any thing, yet there has been great loss of ships by negligence, and unskilfull men governing the fleete and Navy Board.

Nov. 7th. I visited the Earl of Dover, who having made his peace with the King, was now come home. The relation he gave of the strength of the French King, and the difficulty of our forceing him to fight, and any way making impression into France, was very wide from what we fancied.

8th to 30th. An extraordinary dry and warm season, without frost, and like a new spring; such as had not been known for many yeares. Part of the King's house at Kensington was burnt.

Dec. 6th. Discourse of another *plot*, in which severall greate persons were nam'd, but believ'd to be a sham.—A proposal in the House of Commons that every officer in the whole nation who receiv'd a salary above £500 or otherwise by virtue of his office should contribute it wholly to the support of the war with France, and this upon their oathes.

26th. An exceeding dry and calm winter, no rain for many past months.

25th. My Daughter-in-law was brought to bed of a daughter.

28th. Din'd at Lambeth with the new Archbishop. Saw the effect of my green-house furnace, set up by the Archbishop's son-in-law.

30th. I againe saw Mr. Charlton's collection¹ of spiders, birds, scorpions, and other serpents, &c.

1691-92. Jan. 1st. This last weeke died that pious admirable Christian, excellent philosopher, and my worthy friend, Mr. Boyle, aged about 65. A greate losse to all that knew him, and to the publiq.

6th. At the funeral of Mr. Boyle at S^t Martin's, Dr. Burnet, Bp. of Salisbury, preach'd on 2 Eccles. v. 26. He concluded with an eulogy due to the deceas'd, who made God and Religion the scope of all his excellent tallents in the knowledge of nature, and who had arriv'd to so high a degree in it, accompanied with such zeale and extraordinary piety, w^{ch} he shew'd in the whole course of his life, particularly in his exemplary charity on all occasions—that he gave £1000 yearly to the distress'd refugees of France and Ireland; was at the charge of translating the Scriptures into the Irish and Indian tongues, and was now promoting a Turkish translation, as he had formerly don of Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic, w^{ch} he caus'd to be dispers'd in the Eastern countries; that he had settled a fund for preachers who should preach expressly against Atheists, Libertines, Socinians, and Jews; that he had in his will given £8000 to charitable uses, but that his private charities were extraordinary. He dilated on his learning in Hebrew and Greek, his reading of the Fathers, and solid knowledge in theology, once deliberating about taking holy orders, and that at the time of the restoration of K. Cha. 2, when he might have made a greate figure in the nation as to secular honour and titles, his fear of not being able to discharge so weighty a duty as the first,

¹ See pp. 29, 86.

made him decline that, and his humility the other. He spake of his civility to strangers, the greater good which he did by his experience in medicine and chemistry, and to what noble ends he applied himself to his darling studies; the works both pious and usefull which he publish'd; the exact life he led, and the happy end he made. Something was touch'd of his sister the Lady Ranelagh, who died but a few days before him. And truly all this was but his due, without any grain of flattery.

This week a most execrable murder was committed on Dr. Clench, father of that extraordinary learned child whom I have before notic'd.¹ Under pretence of carrying him in a coach to see a patient, they strangled him in it, and sending away the coachman under some pretence, they left his dead body in the coach, and escap'd in the dusk of the evening.²

12th. My Grandaughter was christen'd by Dr. Tenison, now Bp. of Lincoln, in Trinity church, being the first that was christen'd there. She was nam'd Jane.

24th. A frosty and dry season continued; many persons die of apoplexies, more than usual.—Lord Marlborough, L^t Gen^l of the King's army in England, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, &c. dismiss'd from all his charges, military and other, for his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers.—Note, this was the Lord who was entirely advanc'd by K. James, and was the first who betray'd and forsooke his master. He was son of S^r Winston Churchill of the Green-cloth.

Feb. 7th. An extraordinary snow fell in most parts.

¹ See before, p. 64.

² One Henry Harrison was tried for this murder, convicted, and hanged; but he left a paper, which was printed, denying his guilt.

13th. Mr. Boyle having made me one of the trustees for his charitable bequests, I went to a meeting of the Bp. of Lincoln, Sir Rob. wood and Serj^t Rotheram, to settle that clause in the will w^{ch} related to charitable uses, and especialy the appointing and electing a minister to preach one sermon the first Sunday in the month, during the 4 summer months, expressly against Atheists, Deists, Libertines, Jews, &c. without descending to any other controversy whatever, for w^{ch} £50 per ann. is to be paid quarterly to the preacher, and at the end of 3 yeares to proceed to a new election of some other able divine, or to continue the same, as the trustees should judge convenient. We made choice of one Mr. Bentley,¹ chaplain to the Bp. of Worc^r (Dr. Stillingfleet). The first sermon was appointed for the first Sunday in March, at St. Martin's; the second Sunday in April at Bow church, and so alternately.

28th. Lord Marlborough having us'd words against the King, and ben discharg'd from all his greate places, his wife was forbid the Court, and the Princesse of Denmark was desir'd by the Queene to dismiss her from her service, but she refusing to do so, goes away from Court to Sion house.—Divers new Lords made; Sir Henry Capel,² Sir W^m Fermor,³ &c.—Change of Commiss^{rs} in the Treasury.—The Parliament adjourn'd, not well satisfied with affairs. The business of the East India Company, w^{ch} they would have reform'd, let fall.—The Duke of Norfolk does not succeed in his endeavour to be divorc'd.⁴

¹ Afterwards the celebrated scholar and critic, Librarian to the King, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

² Lord Capel of Tewksbury.

³ Baron of Leominster; afterwards Earl of Pomfret.

⁴ See hereafter, under the year 1700, April.

March 20th. My Son was made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue and Treasury of Ireland, to w^{ch} imployment he had a mind, far from my wishes.—I visited the Earle of Peterborough, who shew'd me the picture of the Pr. of Wales, newly brought out of France, seeming in my opinion very much to resemble the Queene his mother, and of a most vivacious countenance.

April. No spring yet appearing. The Queene Dowager went out of England towards Portugal, as pretended, against the advice of all her friends.

4th. Mr. Bentley preach'd Mr. Boyle's lecture at St. Mary le Bow. So excellent a discourse against the Epicurean system is not to be recapitulated in a few words. He came to me to ask whether I thought it should be printed, or that there was any thing in it w^{ch} I desired to be alter'd. I tooke this as a civility, and earnestly desir'd it should be printed, as one of the most learned and convincing discourses I had ever heard.

6th. A Fast.—K. James sends a letter written and directed by his own hand to severall of the Privy Council, and one to his daughter the Queene Regent, informing them of the Queene being ready to be brought to bed, and summoning them to be at the birth by the middle of May, promising as from the French King, permission to come and returne in safety.

24th. Much apprehension of a French invasion, and of an universal rising. Our fleet begins to join with the Dutch. Unkindness betweene the Queene and her sister. Very cold and unseasonable weather, scarce a leaf on the trees.

May 5th. Reports of an invasion were very hot, and alarm'd the Citty, Court, and people; nothing but securing suspected persons, sending forces to the sea-side, and hastening out the fleete. Continued

discourse of the French invasion, and of ours in France. The eastern wind so constantly blowing, gave our fleete time to unite, w^{ch} had been so tardy in preparation, that, had not God thus wonderfully favor'd, the enemy would in all probability have fallen upon us. Many daily secur'd, and proclamations out for more conspirators.

8th. My kinsman S^r Edw^d Evelyn of Long Ditton died suddenly.

12th. A Fast.

13th. I din'd at my Cousin Cheny's, son to my Lord Cheny, who married my Cousin Pierpoint.

15th. My Niece M. Evelyn was now married to Sir Cyril Wyche, Secretary of State for Ireland.¹—After all our apprehensions of being invaded, and doubts of our successe by sea, it pleas'd God to give us a greate naval victory, to the utter ruine of the French fleete, their admiral and all their best men of war, transport ships, &c.

29th. Tho' this day was set apart expressly for celebrating the memorable birth, returne, and restauration of the late King Cha. II. there was no notice taken of it, nor any part of the office annext to the Common Prayer Book made use of, w^{ch} I think was ill don, in regard his restauration not onely redeem'd us from anarchy and confusion, but restor'd the Church of England, as it were miraculously.

June 9th. I went to Windsor to carry my Grandson to Eton School, where I met my Lady Stonehouse and other of my Daughter-in-law's relations, who came on purpose to see her before her journey into Ireland. We went to see the Castle which we found furnish'd and very neatly kept, as formerly, only that the arms in the guard chamber and keep were remov'd and carried away.—An exceeding greate storm of wind and rain, in some places stripping the trees

¹ See hereafter, p. 146 ; and under the year 1699, October.

of their fruit and leaves as if it had ben winter ; and an extraordinary wet season, with greate floods.

July 23rd. I went with my Wife, Son, and Daughter, to Eton to see my Grandson, and thence to my Lord Godolphin's at Cranburn, where we lay, and were most honorably entertain'd. The next day to St. George's chapel, and return'd to London late in the evening.

25th. To Mr. Hewer's at Clapham, where he has an excellent, usefull, and capacious house on the Common, built by Sir Den. Gauden, and by him sold to Mr. Hewer, who got a very considerable estate in the Navy, in w^{ch}, from being Mr. Pepys's clerk, he came to be one of the principal officers, but was put out of all employment on the Revolution, as were all the best officers, on suspicion of being no friends to the change ; such were put in their places as were most shamefully ignorant and unfit. Mr. Hewer lives very handsomely and friendly to every body.¹—Our fleete was now sailing on their long pretence of a descent on the French coast ; but after having sail'd 100 leagues, return'd, the Admiral and officers disagreeing as to the place where they were to land, and the time of yeare being so far spent. To the greate dishonor of those at the helm, who concerted their matters so indiscreetly, or, as some thought, designedly.

This whole summer was exceeding wet and rainy ; the like had not ben known since the year 1648 ; whilst in Ireland they had not known so greate a drowth.

16th. I went to visite the Bp. of Lincoln, when amongst other things he told me that one Dr. Chaplin of University Coll. in Oxford was the person who wrote the "Whole Duty of Man ;" that he us'd to

¹ See the Memoirs and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, edited by Richard Lord Braybrooke.

read it to his pupils, and communicated it to Dr. Stern, afterwards Abp. of York, but would never suffer any of his pupils to have a copy of it.

Aug. 10th. A Fast. Came the sad news of the hurricane and earthquake, w^{ch} has destroy'd almost the whole Island of Jamaica, many thousands having perish'd.

11th. My Son, his Wife, and little Daughter, went for Ireland, there to reside as one of the Commiss^{rs} of the Revenue.

14th. Still an exceeding wet season.

Sept. 15th. There happen'd an earthquake, w^{ch} tho' not so great as to do any harm in England, was universal in all these parts of Europe. It shook the house at Wotton, but was not perceiv'd by any save a servant or two, who were making my bed, and another in a garret. I and the rest being at dinner below in the parlour were not sensible of it. The dreadful one in Jamaica this summer was profanely and ludicrously represented in a puppet-play, or some such lewd pastime, in the fair of Southwark, w^{ch} caus'd the Queene to put downe that idle and vicious mock shew.

Oct. 1st. This season was so exceedingly cold, by reason of a long and tempestuous north-east wind, that this usually pleasant month was very uncomfortable. No fruit ripened kindly.—Harbord dies at Belgrade; Lord Paget sent Ambass^r in his roome.

Nov. 6th. There was a vestry call'd about repairing or new building of the church [at Deptford], w^{ch} I thought unseasonable in regard of heavy taxes, and other improper circumstances, w^{ch} I there declar'd.

10th. A solemn Thanksgiving for our victory at sea, safe return of the King, &c.

20th. Dr. Lancaster, the new Vicar of St. Martin's, preach'd.

A signal robbery in Hertfordshire of the tax money

bringing out of the north towards London. They were set upon by severall desperate persons, who dismounted and stopt all travellers on the road, and guarding them in a field, when the exploit was don, and the treasure taken, they killed all the horses of those whom they stay'd, to hinder pursuit, being 16 horses. They then dismiss'd those that they had dismounted.

Dec. 14th. With much reluctance we gratified Sir Jo. Rotheram, one of Mr. Boyle's trustees, by admitting the Bp. of Bath and Wells¹ to be lecturer for the next yeare, instead of Mr. Bentley, who had so worthily acquitted himselfe. We intended to take him in againe the next yeare.

1692-93. Jan. Contest in Parl^t about a selfe-denying Act, that no Parliament man should have any office : it wanted only two or three voices to have ben carried. The Duke of Norfolk's Bill for a divorce thrown out, he having manag'd it very indiscreetly. The quarrell betweene Adm^l Russell and Lord Nottingham yet undetermin'd.

Feb. 4th. After five days trial and extraordinary contest, the Lord Mohun was acquitted by the Lords of the murder of Montford the Player, notwithstanding the Judges, from the pregnant witnesses of the fact, had declar'd him guilty ; but whether in commiseration of his youth, being not 18 years old, tho' exceeding dissolute, or upon whatever other reason, the K. himselfe present some part of the trial, and satisfied, as they report, that he was culpable, 69 acquitted him, only 14 condemned him.—Unheard-of stories of the universal increase of witches in New England ; men, women, and children, devoting themselves to the devil, so as to threaten the subversion of the government.² At the same time there was a conspiracy amongst the

¹ Bp. Kidder.

² Some account of these unfortunate persons is given in the

negroes in Barbadoes to murder all their masters, discover'd by overhearing a discourse of two of the slaves, and so preventing the execution of the designe. Hitherto an exceeding mild winter. France in the utmost misery and poverty for want of corn and subsistence, whilst the ambitious King is intent to pursue his conquests on the rest of his neighbours both by sea and land. Our Admiral Russell laid aside for not pursuing the advantage he had obtain'd over the French in the past summer; three others chosen in his place. Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury's book burnt by the hangman for an expression of the King's title by conquest, on the complaint of Jo. How, a Member of Parliament, little better than a madman.

19th. The Bp. of Lincoln preach'd in the afternoon at the Tabernacle neere Golden Square, set up by him.—Proposals of a marriage between Mr. Draper and my Daughter Susanna.—Hitherto an exceeding warme winter such as has seldom ben known, and portending an unprosperous spring as to the fruits of the earth; our climate requires more cold and winterly weather.—The dreadfull and astonishing earthquake swallowing up Catanea and other famous and ancient cities, with more than 100,000 persons in Sicily, on 11 Jan. last, came now to be reported amongst us.

26th. An extraordinary deep snow, after almost no winter, and a sudden gentle thaw. A deplorable earthquake at Malta, since that of Sicily, nearly as greate.

March 19th. A new Secretary of State, Sir John History of Surrey, ii. 714, from the papers of the Rev. Mr. Miller, Vicar of Effingham in that county, who was Chaplain to the King's forces there from 1692 to 1695. Some of these poor people were convicted and executed, but Sir Wm. Phipps the Governor had the good sense to reprieve, and afterwards pardon, several, and the Queen approved his conduct.

Trenchard;¹ the Attorney General Somers made Lord Keeper, a young lawyer of extraordinary merit.—King W^m goes towards Flanders, but returns, the wind being contrary.

31st. I met the King going to Gravesend to embark in his yacht for Holland.

April 23rd. An extraordinary wet spring.

27th. My Daughter Susanna was married to W^m Draper, Esq. in the chapel of Ely House, by Dr. Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, (since Archbishop). I gave her in portion £4000, her jointure is £500 per annum. I pray Almighty God to give his blessing to this marriage. She is a good child, religious, discreet, ingenious, and qualified with all the ornaments of her sex. She has a peculiar talent in designe, as painting in oil and miniature, and an extraordinary genius for whatever hands can do with a needle. She has the French tongue, has read most of the Greek and Roman authors and poets, using her talents with greate modesty; exquisitely shap'd, and of an agreeable countenance. This character is due to her, tho' coming from her father. Much of this week spent in ceremonies, receiving visites and entertaining

¹ Of Bloxworth in Dorsetshire. He had been engaged with the Duke of Monmouth, but got out of England, and lived abroad, where he acquired a true knowledge of foreign affairs. He was a calm and sedate man, and more moderate than could have been expected, since he had been a leading man in a party. He was the confidential friend of King William, by whom he was commissioned to concert measures with his friends on this side of the water, and ensure his favourable reception. Previously to his appointment of Secretary of State, the King had made him Serjeant at Law and Chief Justice of Chester. He died in 1694, at the age of 46, and is buried at Bloxworth. There is an engraved portrait of Sir John Trenchard in mezzotinto by James Watson, representing him in the dress of his office, and expresses a weakness which he had in his right hand and arm; also another in armour from a miniature after the original, by Ozias Humphry, R.A., engraved by Cantlo Bestland. See Hutchins's History of Dorsetshire, vol. iii.

relations, and a greate part of the next in returning visites.

May 11th. We accompanied my Daughter to her husband's house,¹ where with many of his and our relations we were magnificently treated. There we left her in an apartment very richly adorn'd and furnish'd, and I hope in as happy a condition as could be wish'd, and with the greate satisfaction of all our friends ; for w^{ch} God be prais'd !

14th. Nothing yet of action from abroad. Muttering of a design to bring forces under colour of an expected descent, to be a standing army for other purposes. Talk of a declaration of the French King, offering mighty advantages to the Confederates, exclusive of K. William ; and another of K. James, with an universal pardon, and referring the composing of all differences to a Parliament. These were yet but discourses ; but something is certainly under it. A declaration or manifesto from K. James, so written that many thought it reasonable, and much more to the purpose than any of his former.

June. Whitsunday. I went to my Lord Griffith's chapel ; the common church office was us'd for the King without naming the person, with some other, apposite to the necessity and circumstances of the time.

11th. I din'd at Sir W^m Godolphin's, and after evening prayer visited the Dutchess of Grafton.

21st. I saw a great auction of Pictures in the Banqueting House, Whitehall. They had ben my Lord Melford's, now Ambass' from K. James at Rome, and engag'd to his creditors here. Lord Mulgrave and Sir Edward Seymour came to my house, and desir'd me to go with them to the sale. Divers more of the greate Lords, &c. were there, and bought pictures dear enough. There were some very excellent of Vandyke, Rubens, and Bassan. Lord Godol-

¹ At Adscomb near Croydon.

phin bought the picture of the Boys by Morillio the Spaniard for 80 guineas, deare enough ; my nephew Glanville, the old Earl of Arundell's Head by Rubens for £20. Growing late, I did not stay till all were sold.

24th. A very wet hay harvest, and little summer as yet.

July 9th. Mr. Tippin, successor of Dr. Parr at Camberwell, preach'd an excellent sermon.

13th. I saw the Queen's rare cabinets and collection of china ; w^{ch} was wonderfully rich and plentiful, but especialy a large cabinet, looking-glasse frame and stands, all of amber, much of it white, with historical bas-reliefs and statues, with medals carved in them, esteem'd worth £4000, sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, whose country, Prussia, abounds with amber, cast up by the sea ; divers other china and Indian cabinets, screens, and hangings. In her library were many bookes in English, French, and Dutch, of all sorts ; a cupboard of gold plate ; a cabinet of silver fillagree, w^{ch} I think was our Queene Mary's,¹ and w^{ch} in my opinion should have ben generously sent to her.

18th. I din'd with Lord Mulgrave, with the Earl of Devonshire, Mr. Hampden (a scholar and fine gentleman), Dr. Davenant, Sir Henry Vane, and others, and saw and admir'd the Venus of Coreggio, w^{ch} Lord Mulgrave had newly bought of Mr. Daun for £250, one of the best paintings I ever saw.

Aug. 1st. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb, made Lord Justices in Ireland ; Lord Sydney recall'd, and made Master of the Ordnance.

6th. Very lovely harvest weather, and a wholesome season, but no garden fruit.

Oct. 31st. A very wet and uncomfortable season.

Nov. 12th. Lord Nottingham resign'd as Secretary

¹ Mary of Esté, King James's Queen, now with him in France.

of State;¹ the Commissioners of the Admiralty outed, and Russell² restor'd to his office.—The season continued very wet, as it had nearly all the summer, if one might call it summer, in w^{ch} there was no fruit, but corn was very plentiful.

14th. In the lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, Sir R. Haddock one of the Commiss^{rs} of the Navy had the greatest lot, £3000; my coachman £40.

17th. Was the funeral of Capt. Young, who died of the stone and greate age. I think he was the first who in the first war with Cromwell against Spain,³ took the Governor of Havanna, and another rich prize, and struck the first stroke against the Dutch fleete in the first war with Holland in the time of the Rebellion; a sober man and an excellent seaman.

30th. Much importun'd to take the office of President of the Royal Society, but I againe declin'd it. S^r Rob^t Southwell was continued. We all din'd at Pontac's as usual.

Dec. 3rd. Mr. Bentley preach'd at the Tabernacle neere Golden Square. I gave my voice for him to proceed on his former subject the following yeare in Mr. Boyle's lecture, in w^{ch} he had been interrupted by the importunity of Sir J. Rotheram that the Bishop of Chichester⁴ might be chosen the yeare before, to the great dissatisfaction of the Bishop of Lincoln and myselfe. We chose Mr. Bentley againe.—The Dutchesse of Grafton's Appeal to the House of Lords for the Prothonotaries place given to the late Duke and to her son by K. Cha. II. now challeng'd by the Lord Cheife Justice. The Judges were severely reprov'd on something they said.

¹ He was succeeded by Charles Earl of Shrewsbury.

² Edward Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford.

³ See vol. ii. p. 89.

⁴ Read Bath and Wells; viz. Bp. Kidder; see p. 106.

10th. A very greate storm with thunder and lightning.

1693-94. Jan. 1st. Prince Lewis of Baden came to London, and was much feasted. Danish ships arrested carrying corn and naval stores to France.

11th. Supp'd at Mr. Edw^d Sheldon's, where was Mr. Dryden the poet, who now intended to write no more plays, being intent on his translation of Virgil. He read to us his prologue and epilogue to his valedictory play now shortly to be acted.

21st. Lord Macclesfield, Lord Warrington, and Lord Westmoreland, all died within about one week. Several persons shot, hang'd, and made away with themselves.

Feb. 11th. Now was the greate trial of the Appeal of Lord Bath and Lord Montagu before the Lords, for the estate of the late Duke of Albemarle.¹

March 10th. Mr. Stringfellow preach'd at Trinity parish, being restor'd to that place, after the contest betweene the Queen and the Bishop of London who had displac'd him.

22nd. Came the dismal news of the disaster befallen our Turkey fleet by tempest, to the almost utter ruin of that trade, the convoy of 3 or 4 men of war and divers merchant-ships with all their men and lading having perish'd.

25th. Dr. Goode, Minister of St. Martin's, preach'd; he was likewise put in by the Queene, on the issue of her process with the Bishop of London.

30th. I went to the Duke of Norfolk to desire him to make Cousin Evelyn of Nutfield one of the Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey, and intreat him to dismiss my Brother, now unable to serve by reason of age and infirmity. The Duke granted the one, but would not suffer my Brother to resign his commission, desiring he should keepe the honor of it during his life,

¹ See pp. 131, 160.

tho' he could not act. He profess'd greate kindnesse to our family.

April 1st. Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, preach'd in the afternoone at the Tabernacle by Soho.

13th. Mr. Bentley, our Boyle Lecturer, Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, came to see me.

15th. One Mr. Stanhope¹ preach'd a most excellent sermon.

22nd. A fiery exhalation rising out of the sea spread itselfe in Montgomeryshire a furlong broad, and many miles in length, burning all straw, hay, thatch, and grass, but doing no harm to trees, timber, or any solid things, onely firing barns or thatch'd houses. It left such a taint on the grasse as to kill all the cattle that eate of it. I saw the attestations in the hands of the sufferers. It lasted many moneths.—“ The Berkeley Castle ” sunk by the French coming from the East Indies, worth £200,000. The French took our castle of Gamboo in Guinea, so that the Africa Actions fell to £30, and the India to £80.—Some regiments of Highland Dragoons were on their march through England; they were of large stature, well appointed and disciplin'd. One of them having reproch'd a Dutchman for cowardice in our late fight, was attack'd by two Dutchmen, when with his sword he struck off the head of one, and cleft the skull of the other down to his chin.

A very young gentleman nam'd Wilson, the younger son of one who had not above £200 a year estate, liv'd in the garb and equipage of the richest nobleman, for house, furniture, coaches, saddle-horses, and kept a table and all things accordingly, redeemed his father's estate, and gave portions to his sisters, being challenged by one Laws a Scotchman, was

¹ Afterwards Dean of Canterbury; a most respectable and worthy divine, who made no scruple to publish what he found truly pious in the works of a Roman Catholic Priest. See p. 125.

killed in a duel, not fairly. The quarrel arose from his taking away his owne sister from lodging in a house where this Laws had a mistress, w^{ch} the mistress of the house thinking a disparagement to it, and looseing by it, instigated Laws to this duel. He was taken and condemn'd for murder. The mystery is how this so young a gentleman, very sober and of good fame, could live in such an expensive manner; it could not be discover'd by all possible industry, or intreaty of his friends to make him reveal it. It did not appear that he was kept by women, play, coining, padding, or dealing in chymistry; but he would sometimes say that if he should live ever so long, he had wherewith to maintaine himselfe in the same manner. He was very civil and well natur'd, but of no greate force of understanding. This was a subject of much discourse.

24th. I went to visit Mr. Waller, an extraordinary young gentleman of greate accomplishments, skill'd in mathematics, anatomy, music, painting both in oil and miniature to greate perfection, an excellent botanist, a rare engraver on brasse, writer in Latin, and a poet; and with all this exceeding modest. His house is an academy of itselfe. I carried him to see Brompton Park [by Knightsbridge],¹ where he was in admiration at the store of rare plants, and the method he found in that noble nursery, and how well it was cultivated.—A publick Bank of £140,000 set up by Act of Parliament among other Acts, and Lotteries for money to carry on the war.—The whole month of April without rain.—A greate rising of people in Buckinghamshire, on the declaration of a famous preacher,² till now reputed a sober and reli-

¹ Belonging to Mr. Wise. See p. 159.

² John Mason, who was presented to the rectory of Water Stratford in 1674. Granger calls him a man of unaffected piety, and says that he was esteemed to be possessed of learning and

gious man, that our Lord Christ appearing to him on the 16th of this month, told him he was now come down, and would appeare publickly at Pentecost, and gather all the saints, Jews and Gentiles, and lead them to Jerusalem, and begin the Millenium, and destroying and judging the wicked, deliver the government of the world to the saints. Greate multitudes follow'd this preacher, divers of the most zealous brought their goods and considerable sums of money, and began to live in imitation of the primitive saints, minding no private concerns, continually dancing and singing Hallelujah night and day. This brings to mind what I lately happen'd to find in Alstedius, that the thousand yeares should begin this very yeare 1694 : it is in his *Encyclopædia Biblica*. My copy of the book printed neere 60 yeares ago.

May 4th. I went this day with my Wife and 4 servants from Says Court, removing much furniture of all sorts, books, pictures, hangings, bedding, &c. to furnish the apartment my Brother assign'd me, and now, after more than 40 years, to spend the rest of my dayes with him at Wotton, where I was born ; leaving my house at Deptford full furnish'd, and three servants to my Son-in-law Draper, to pass the summer in, and such longer time as he should think fit to make use of it.

6th. This being the first Sunday in the month, the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to have ben celebrated at Wotton Church, but in this

abilities above the common level, till he became bewildered in the mysteries of Calvinism. Great numbers of his deluded followers left their homes and filled all the houses and barns in the neighbourhood of Water Stratford, and when they were prevented from assembling in their chosen field, they met in the town. Three pamphlets on this subject were published in 1694, the year after Mr. Mason's death, one of which has been privately reprinted by the late Rev. Edward Cooke, Rector of Haversham, in the same county.

parish it is exceedingly neglected, so that unlesse at the 4 greate feasts, there is no communion hereabouts, w^{ch} is a greate fault both in ministers and people. I have spoken to my Brother who is the patron, to discourse the Minister about it.—Scarcely one shower has fallen since the beginning of April.

30th. This week we had newes of my Lord Tiviot having cut his owne throat, thro' what discontent not yet said. He had been not many yeares past my colleague in the commission of the Privy Seale, an old acquaintance, very soberly and religiously inclined. Lord, what are we without thy continual grace!

Lord Falkland, grandson to the learned Lord Falkland, Secretary of State to K. Charles I. and slaine in his service, died now of the small pox. He was a pretty, brisk, understanding, industrious young gentleman; had formerly ben faulty, but now much reclaim'd; had also the good luck to marry a very greate fortune, besides being intituled to a vast sum, his share of the Spanish Wreck, taken up at the expence of divers adventurers. From a Scotch Viscount he was made an English Baron, design'd Ambass^r for Holland; had ben Treasurer of the Navy, and advancing extreamly in the new Court. All now gone in a moment, and I think the title is extinct. I know not whether the estate devolves to my Cousin Carew. It was at my Lord Falkland's, whose lady importun'd us to let our Daughter be with her some time, so that that deare child took the same infection, which cost her valuable life.¹

June 3rd. Mr. Edwards, minister of Denton in Sussex, a living in my Brother's gift, came to see him. He had suffer'd much by a fire.—Seasonable showers.

14th. The public Fast. Mr. Wotton, that extraordinary learn'd young man, preach'd excellently.

¹ See p. 452, vol. ii.

July 1st. Mr. Duncomb, minister of Albury, preach'd at Wotton, a very religious and exact discourse.

The first greate Bank for a fund of money being now establish'd by Act of Parliament, was fill'd and compleated to the sum of £120,000, and put under the governm^t of the most able and wealthy citizens of London. All who adventur'd any sum had 4 per cent. so long as it lay in the Bank, and had power either to take it out at pleasure, or transfer it.—Glorious steady weather, corn and all fruits in extraordinary plenty generally.

13th. Lord Berkeley burnt Dieppe and Havre de Grace with bombs in revenge for the defeat at Brest. This manner of destructive war was begun by the French, is exceedingly ruinous, especially falling on the poorer people, and does not seem to tend to make a more speedy end of the war, but rather to exasperate and incite to revenge.—Many executed at London for clipping money, now don to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above halfe the nominal value.

Aug. 4th. I went to visit my Cousin Geo. Evelyn of Nutfield, where I found a family of 10 children, 5 sons and 5 daughters. All beautifull women grown, and extreamly well fashion'd. All painted in one piece, very well, by Mr. Lutterell, in crayon on copper, and seeming to be as finely painted as the best miniature. They are the children of 2 extraordinary beautifull wives. The boys were at school.

5th. Stormy and unseasonable wet weather this week.

Oct. 5th. I went to St. Paul's to see the choir, now finish'd as to the stone work, and the scaffolds struck both without and within, in that part. Some exceptions might perhaps be taken as to the placing columns on pilasters at the East tribunal. As to the rest, it is

a piece of architecture without reproch. The pulling out the formes, like drawers, from under the stalls is ingenious. I went also to see the building beginning neere St. Giles's, where 7 streets make a star from a Doric pillar plac'd in the middle of a circular area; said to be built by Mr. Neale,¹ introducer of the late Lotteries in imitation of those at Venice, now set up here, for himselfe twice, and now one for the State.

28th. Mr. Stringfellow preach'd at Trinity church.

Nov. 22nd. Visited the Bishop of Lincoln [Tenison] newly come on the death of the Abp. of Canterbury, who a few days before had a paralytic stroke. The same day and month that Abp. Sancroft was put out.—A very sickly time, especialy the small pox, of w^{ch} divers considerable persons died. The State Lottery² drawing, Mr. Cock, a French Refugee and a President in the Parliament of Paris for the Reform'd, drew a lot of £1000 per ann.

29th. I visited the Marquiss of Normanby and had much discourse concerning K. Cha. II. being poison'd.—Also concerning the *Quinquina* w^{ch} the physicians would not give to the King, at a time when in a dangerous ague it was the only thing that could cure him (out of envy because it had ben brought into vogue by Mr. Tudor an apothecary), till Dr. Short, to whom the King sent to know his opinion of it privately, he being reputed a Papist (but who was in truth a very honest good Christian), sent word to the King that it was the only thing w^{ch} could save his life, and then the King injoin'd his physicians to give it to him, w^{ch} they did, and he recover'd. Being asked by this Lord why they would not prescribe it,

¹ This Mr. Neale took a large piece of ground on the North side of Piccadilly of Sir Walter Clarges, agreeing to lay out £15,000 in building; but he did not do so, and Sir Walter having, after great trouble, got the lease out of his hands, built what is now called Clarges-street. Malcolm's London, p. 329.

² State Lotteries finally closed Oct. 18th, 1826.

Dr. Lower said it would spoil their practice, or some such expression, and at last confessed it was a remedy fit only for Kings.—Exception was taken that the late Abp. did not cause any of his Chaplains to use any office for the sick during his illness.

Dec. 9th. I had newes that my deare and worthy friend Dr. Tenison, Bp. of Lincoln, was made Abp. of Canterbury, for which I thank God and rejoyce, he being most worthy of it, for his learning, piety, and prudence.

13th. I went to London to congratulate him. He being my proxy, gave my vote for Dr. Williams to succeed Mr. Bentley in Mr. Boyle's lectures.

29th. The small pox increas'd exceedingly, and was very mortal. The Queene died of it on the 28th.

1694-95. Jan 13th. The Thames was frozen over. The deaths by small pox increas'd to 500 more than in the preceding week.—The King and Princesse Ann reconcil'd, and she was invited to keepe her Court at Whitehall, having hitherto liv'd privately at Berkeley house: she was desir'd to take into her family divers servants of the late Queene; to maintain them the King has assign'd her £5000 a quarter.

20th. The frost and continual snow has now lasted neere 5 weekes.

Feb. Lord Spencer married the Duke of Newcastle's daughter, and our neighbour Mr. Hussey married a Daughter of my Cousin Geo. Evelyn of Nutfield.

3rd. The long frost intermitted, but not gone.

17th. Call'd to London by Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords of the Treasury, offering me the Treasurer-ship of the Hospital design'd to be built at Greenwich for worn-out seamen.

24th. I saw the Queene lie in state.

27th. The Marquiss of Normanby told me K. Cha. had a designe to buy all King Street, and build

it nobly, it being the streete leading to Westm^r. This might have been don for the expence of the Queene's funeral, which was £50,000, against her desire.

March 5th. I went to see the ceremonie. Never was so universal a mourning, all the Parliament men had cloaks given them, and 400 poore women; all the streetes hung, and the middle of the streete boarded and cover'd with black cloth. There were all the Nobility, Mayor, Aldermen, Judges, &c.

8th. I supp'd at the Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry's, who related to me the pious behaviour of the Queene in all her sicknesse, w^{ch} was admirable. She never enquir'd of what opinion persons were, who were objects of charity; that on opening a cabinet a paper was found, wherein she had desir'd that her body might not be open'd, or any extraordinary expence at her funeral, whenever she should die. This paper was not found in time to be observ'd. There were other excellent things under her owne hand, to the very least of her debts, which were very small, and every thing in that exact method as seldom is found in any private person. In sum she was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the Crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, out-do the renown'd Queene Elizabeth.

10th. I din'd at the Earl of Sunderland's with Lord Spencer. My Lord shew'd me his Library, now again improv'd by many books bought at the sale of Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent physician,¹ which was the very best collection, especially of mathematical books, that was I believe in Europe, once design'd for the King's Library at St. James's, but the Queene's dying, who was the greate patroness of that designe, it was let fall, and the books were miserably dissipated.

The new edition of Camden's Britannia was now

¹ See vol. ii. p. 45.

publish'd (by Bishop Gibson), with greate additions; those to Surrey were mine, so that I had one presented to me. Dr. Gale shew'd me a MS. of some parts of the New Testament in vulgar Latin, that had belong'd to a monastery in the North of Scotland, which he esteem'd to be above 800 yeares old: there were some considerable various readings observable, as in 1 John, and genealogy of St. Luke.

24th. Easter day. Mr. Duncomb, parson of this parish, preach'd, which he hardly comes to above once a yeare, tho' but 7 or 8 miles off;¹ a florid discourse, read out of his notes. The Holy Sacrament follow'd, w^{ch} he administer'd with very little reverence, leaving out many prayers and exhortation, nor was there any oblation. This ought to be reform'd, but my good Brother did not well consider when he gave away this living and the next [Abinger].

March. The latter end of the month sharp and severe cold, with much snow and hard frost; no appearance of spring.

31st. Mr. Lucas preach'd in the afternoone at Wotton.

April 7th. Lord Halifax died suddenly at London, the day his daughter was married to the Earl of Nottingham's son at Burleigh. Lord H. was a very rich man, very witty, and in his younger days somewhat positive.

14th. After a most severe, cold and snowy winter, without almost any shower for many months, the wind continuing N. and E. and not a leafe appearing; the weather and wind now chang'd, some showers fell, and there was a remission of cold.

21st. The spring begins to appeare, yet the trees hardly leaf'd.—Sir T. Cooke discovers what prodigious bribes have ben given by some of the E. India

¹ This was William Duncomb, Rector of Ashted in Surrey, not Mr. Duncomb of Albury, mentioned in pp. 117, 123.

Company out of the stock, which makes a greater clamour.—Never were so many private Bills pass'd for unsettling estates, shewing the wonderfull prodigality and decay of families.

May 5th. I came to Deptford from Wotton, in order to the first meeting of the Commiss^{rs} for endowing an Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich; it was at the Guildhall, London. Present, the Abp. of Canterbury, Lord Keeper, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Godolphin, Duke of Shrewsbury, Duke of Leeds, Earls of Dorset and Monmouth, Commiss^{rs} of the Admiralty and Navy, Sir Rob^t Clayton, Sir Christ^f Wren, and severall more. The Commission was read by Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, Surveyor General.

17th. Second meeting of the Commissioners, and a Committee appointed to go to Greenwich to survey the place, I being one of them.

21st. We went to survey Greenwich, S^r Rob^t Clayton, Sir Chr^f Wren, Mr. Travers the King's Surveyor; Capt. Sanders, and myselfe.

24th. We made report of the state of Greenwich House, and how the standing part might be made serviceable at present for £6000, and what ground would be requisite for y^e whole designe.—My Lord Keeper order'd me to prepare a book for subscriptions, and a preamble to it.

31st. Met again. Mr. Vanbrugh was made Secretary to the Commission, by my nomination of him to the Lords, which was all don that day.

June 7th. The Commiss^{rs} met at Guildhall, when there were scruples and contests of the Lord Mayor,¹ who would not meet, not being nam'd as one of the quorum, so that a new Commission was requir'd, tho' the Lord Keeper and the rest thought it too nice a punctilio.

¹ Sir William Ashurst, Knt.

14th. Met at Guildhall, but could do nothing for want of a quorum.

July 5th. At Guildhall ; account of subscriptions, about 7 or £8000.

6th. I din'd at Lambeth, making my first visite to the Archbishop, where there was much company and great cheere. After prayers in the evening, my Lord made me stay to shew me his house, furniture and garden, w^{ch} were all very fine, and far beyond the usual Archbishops, not as affected by this, but being bought ready furnish'd by his predecessor. We discours'd of severall public matters, particularly of the Princesse of Denmark, who made so little figure.

11th. Met at Guildhall : not a full Committee, so nothing don.

14th. No sermon at church, but after prayers the names of all the parishioners were read, in order to gathering the tax of 4s. for marriages, burials, &c. A very imprudent tax, especially this reading the names, so that most went out of the church.

19th. I din'd at Sir Purbeck Temple's neere Croydon ; his lady is aunt to my Son-in-law Draper ; the house exactly furnish'd. Went thence with my Son and Daughter to Wotton.—At Wotton, Mr. Duncomb, parson of Albury, preach'd excellently.

28th. A very wet season.

Aug. 11th. The weather now so cold that greater frosts were not always scene in the midst of winter ; this succeeded much wet, and set harvest extremely back.

25th. Mr. Offley preach'd at Abinger ; too much of controversy on a point of no consequence, for the country people here. This was the first time I had heard him preach.¹—Bombarding of Cadiz ; a cruel and brutish way of making war, first begun by the

¹ This gentleman gave good farms in Sussex for the better endowment of Oakwood Chapel, which is a Chapel of ease for the

French.—The season wet, greate stormes, unseasonable harvest weather.—My good and worthy friend Capt. Gifford, who that he might get some competence to live decently, adventur'd all he had in a voyage of 2 yeares to the East Indies, was, with another greate ship, taken by some French men of war, almost within sight of England, to the losse of neere £70,000, to my great sorrow, and pity of his wife, he being also a valiant and industrious man. The losses of this sort to the nation have been immense, and all through negligence and little care to secure the same neere our own coasts; of infinitely more concern to the public than spending their time in bombarding and ruining two or three paltry towns, without any benefit, or weakening our enemys, who, tho' they began, ought not to be imitated in an action totally adverse to humanity or Christianity.

29th. Very cold weather.—Sir Purbeck Temple, uncle to my Son Draper, died suddenly. A greate funeral at Adscomb. His lady being owne aunt to my Son Draper, he hopes for a good fortune, there being no heir. Their had ben a new meeting of the Commiss^{rs} about Greenwich Hospital, on the new Commission where the Lord Maior, &c. appear'd, but I was prevented by indisposition from attending. The weather very sharp, winter approaching apace.—The King went a progresse into the north, to shew himselfe to the people against the elections, and was every where complimented, except at Oxford, where it was not as he expected, so that he hardly stopp'd an hour there, and having seene the Theatre, did not receive the banquet propos'd.—I din'd with Dr. Gale at St. Paul's school, who shew'd

lower parts of Abinger and Wotton, both of which livings are in the gift of the owner of Wotton, and many of the inhabitants thereabouts being distant 5 miles from their parish churches, besides the extreme badness of the roads in winter.

me many curious passages out of some ancient Platonists MSS. concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned person would publish, with many other rare things, if he was encourag'd, and eas'd of the burden of teaching.

Oct. 25th. The Abp. and myselfe went to Hammersmith, to visite Sir Sam. Morland,¹ who was entirely blind; a very mortifying sight. He shew'd us his invention of writing, which was very ingenious; also his wooden kalender, which instructed him all by feeling; and other pretty and useful inventions of mills, pumps, &c. and the pump he had erected that serves water to his garden, and to passengers, with an inscription, and brings from a filthy part of the Thames neere it a most perfect and pure water. He had newly buried £200 worth of music books six feet under ground, being, as he said, love songs and vanity. He plays himselfe psalms and religious hymns on the theorbo.—Very mild weather the whole of October.

Nov. 10th. Mr. Stanhope,² Vicar of Lewisham, preach'd at Whitehall. He is one of the most accomplish'd preachers I ever heard, for matter, eloquence, action, voice, and I am told, of excellent conversation.

13th. Famous fireworks and very chargeable, the King being return'd from his progresse. He stay'd 7 or 8 days at Lord Sunderland's at Althorp, where he was mightily entertain'd. These fireworks were shew'd before Lord Romney, master of the ordnance, in St. James's greate square, where the King stood.

17th. I spoke to the Abp. of Canterbury to interest himself for restoring a roome belonging to St. James's library, where the books want place.

21st. I went to see Mr. Churchill's collection of rarities.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 221.

² See p. 113.

23rd. To Lambeth to get Mr. Williams continued in Boyle's lectures another year. Amongst others who din'd there was Dr. Covell¹ the greatesse Oriental traveller.

Dec. 1st. I din'd at Lord Sunderland's, now the greatesse favorite and underhand politician, but not adventuring on any character, being obnoxious to the people for having twice chang'd his religion.

23rd. The Parliament wondrous intent on ways to reform the coin; setting out a proclamation prohibiting the currency of half crowns, &c. which made much confusion among the people.

25th. Hitherto mild, dark, misty weather. Now snow and frost.

1695-96. Jan. 12th. Great confusion and distraction by reason of the clipp'd money, and the difficulty found in reforming it.

Feb. 2nd. An extraordinary wet season, tho' temperate as to cold.—The Royal Sovereign² man of war burnt at Chatham. It was built in 1637, and having given occasion to the levy of Ship-money was perhaps the cause of all the after-troubles to this day.—An earthquake in Dorsetshire by Portland, or rather a sinking of the ground suddenly for a large space, neere the quarries of stone, hindering the conveyance of that material for the finishing St. Paul's.

23rd. They now began to coin new money.

26th. There was now a conspiracy of about 30 knights, gentlemen, captains, many of them Irish and English Papists and Nonjurors or Jacobites (so call'd), to murder K. William on the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington, or to

¹ Dr. John Covell, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Chancellor of York. He wrote an account of the Greek Church, which he published just before his death in 1722, in his 85th year.

² See vol. i. p. 14.

hunting, or to the chapel; and upon signal of fire to be given from Dover Cliff to Calais, an invasion was design'd. In order to it there was a greate army in readinesse, men of war and transports, to join a general insurrection here, the Duke of Berwick having secretly come to London to head them, K. James attending at Calais with the French army. It was discover'd by some of their owne party. £1000 reward was offer'd to whoever could apprehend any of the thirty nam'd. Most of those who were engag'd in it were taken and secur'd. The Parliament, Citty, and all the nation, congratulate the discovery; and votes and resolutions were pass'd that if K. William should ever be assassinated, it should be reveng'd on the Papists and party through the nation. An Act of Association drawing up to impower the Parliament to sit on any such accident, till the Crowne should be disposed of according to the late settlement at the Revolution. All Papists in the meane time to be banish'd 10 miles from London. This put the nation into an incredible disturbance and generall animosity against the French King and King James. The militia of the nation was rais'd, severall regim^{ts} were sent for out of Flanders, and all things put in a posture to encounter a descent. This was so tim'd by the enemy, that whilst we were already much discontented by the greatnesse of the taxes, and corruption of the money, &c. we had like to have had very few men of war neere our coasts; but so it pleas'd God that Adm^l Rooke wanting a wind to pursue his voyage to the Straits, that squadron, with others at Portsmouth and other places, were still in the Channell, and were soon brought up to join with the rest of the ships which could be got together, so that there is hope this plot may be broken. I look on it as a very greate deliverance and prevention by the pro-

vidence of God. Tho' many did formerly pity King James's condition, this designe of assassination and bringing over a French army, alienated many of his friends, and was likely to produce a more perfect establishment of K. William.

Mar. 1st. The wind continuing N. and E. all this weeke, brought so many of our men of war together that tho' most of the French finding their designe detected and prevented, made a shift to get into Calais and Dunkirk roads, we wanting fire ships and bombs to disturb them; yet they were so engag'd among the sands and flats, that 'tis said they cut their masts and flung their greate guns overboard to lighten their vessells. We are yet upon them. This deliverance is due solely to God. French were to have invaded at once England, Scotland, and Ireland.

8th. Divers of the conspirators tried and condemn'd.

Vesuvius breaking out, terrified Naples. Three of the unhappy wretches, whereof one was a priest, were executed¹ for intending to assassinate the King; they acknowledg'd their intention, but acquitted K. James of inciting them to it, and died very penitent. Divers more in danger, and some very considerable persons.

Great frost and cold.

April 6th. I visited Mr. Graham in the Fleete.

10th. The quarters of S^r W^m Perkins and Sir John Friend lately executed on the plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple Bar; a dismal sight, which many pitied. I think there never was such at Temple Bar till now, except once in the time of K. Ch. II. viz. of S^r Tho. Armstrong.²

¹ Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys.

² He was concerned in the Rye House Plot, fled into Holland, was given up and executed in his own country, 1684. See vol. ii. p. 433.

12th. A very fine spring season.

19th. Greate offence taken at the 3 ministers¹ who absolv'd S^r W^m Perkins and Friend at Tyburn. One of them (Snatt) was a son of my old schoolmaster. This produc'd much altercation as to the canonicalnesse of the action.²

21st. We had a meeting at Guildhall of the Grand Committee about settling the draught of Greenwich Hospital.

23rd. I went to Eton, and din'd with Dr. Godolphin the Provost. The schoolmaster assur'd me there had not been for 20 years a more pregnant youth in that place than my Grandson.—I went to see the King's house at Kensington. It is very noble, tho' not greate. The gallery furnished with the best pictures [from] all the houses, of Titian, Raphael, Coreggio, Holbein, Julio Romano, Bassan, Vandyke, Tintoret, and others; a greate collection of porcelain; and a pretty private library. The gardens about it very delicious.

26th. Dr. Sharp preached at the Temple. His prayer before the sermon was one of the most excellent compositions I ever heard.

28th. the Venetian Ambassador made a stately entry, with 50 footmen, many on horseback, 4 rich coaches, and a numerous train of gallants.—More executions this weeke of the assassins.—Oates dedicated a most villainous reviling book against K. James, which he presum'd to present to K. William, who could not but abhor it, speaking so infamously and untruly of his late beloved Queene's owne father.

May 2nd. I din'd at Lambeth, being summon'd to meete my co-trustees, the Abp., S^r Hen. Ashurst, and Mr. Serjeant Rotheram, to consult about settling Mr. Boyle's lecture for a perpetuity; which we

¹ Mr. Collier, Mr. Snatt, and Mr. Cook, all nonjuring clergymen.

² And pamphlets upon the subject were written pro and con.

concluded upon, by buying a rent-charge of £50 per ann. with the stock in our hands.

6th. I went to Lambeth to meete at dinner the Countess of Sunderland and divers ladies. We din'd in the Abp's wife's apartment with his Grace, and staid late ; yet I return'd to Deptford at night.

13th. I went to London to meet my Son, newly come from Ireland, indispos'd.—Money still continuing exceeding scarce, so that none was paid or receiv'd, but all was on trust, the Mint not supplying for common necessities. The association with an oath requir'd of all lawyers and officers, on pain of *premunire*, whereby men were oblig'd to renounce King James as no rightfull King, and to revenge K. William's death if happening by assassination. This to be taken by all the Council by a day limited, so that the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench hardly heard any cause in Easter Term, so many crowded to take the oath. This was censur'd as a very intangling contrivance of the Parliament in expectation that many in high office would lay down, and others surrender. Many gentlemen taken up on suspicion of the late plot, were now discharg'd out of prison.

29th. We settled divers officers and other matters relating to workmen for the beginning of Greenwich Hospital.

June 1st. I went to Deptford to dispose of our goods in order to letting the house for 3 years to Vice Adm^l Benbow, with condition to keepe up the garden. This was done soon after.

4th. A Committee met at Whitehall about Greenwich Hospital, at Sir Chr^r Wren's, his Ma^{ty's} Surveyor General. We made the first agreement with divers workmen, and for materials ; and gave the first order for proceeding on the foundation, and for weekly payments to the workmen, and a generall account to be monthly.

11th. Din'd at Lord Pembroke's, Lord Privy Seal, a very worthy gentleman. He shew'd me divers rare pictures of very many of the old and best masters, especialy one of M. Angelo of a man gathering fruit to give to a woman, and a large book of the best drawings of the old masters.—Sir J. Fenwick, one of the conspirators, was taken.¹—Greate subscriptions in Scotland to their East India Company.—Want of current money to carry on the smallest concerns, even for daily provisions in the markets. Guineas lower'd to 22 shillings, and great sums daily transported to Holland where it yields more, with other treasure sent to pay the armies, and nothing considerable coin'd of the new and now onely current stamp, cause such a scarcity that tumults are every day fear'd, nobody paying or receiving money; so imprudent was the late Parliament to condemn the old, tho' clipt and corrupted, till they had provided supplies. To this add the fraud of the bankers and goldsmiths, who, having gotten immense riches by extortion, keepe up their treasure in expectation of enhancing its value. Duncomb, not long since a meane goldsmith, having made a purchase of the late Duke of Buckingham's estate² at neere £90,000, and reputed to have neere as much in cash. Banks and Lotteries every day set up.

18th. The famous trial betweene my Lord Bath and Lord Montagu for an estate of £11,000 a year, left by the Duke of Albemarle, wherein on severall trials had been spent £20,000 between them. The E. of Bath was cast on evident forgery.³

20th. I made my Lord Cheney a visit at Chelsea,

¹ He was taken at a house by the side of the road from Great Bookham to Stoke Dabernon in Surrey, near Slyfield mill, as I was told by the great grandson of Mr. Evelyn.—W. B.

² At Helmsley in Yorkshire.

“And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
Slides to a Scrivener or a City Knight.”—POPE.

³ See pp. 112, 160.

and saw those ingenious water-works invented by Mr. Winstanley,¹ wherein were some things very surprising and extraordinary.

21st. An exceeding rainy, cold, unseasonable summer, yet the Citty was very healthy.

25th. A trial in the Common Pleas between the Lady Purbeck Temple and Mr. Temple, a nephew of Sir Purbeck, concerning a deed set up to take place of severall wills. This deed was prov'd to be forg'd. The cause went on my lady's side. This concerning my Son-in-law Draper, I staid almost all day at Court. A greate supper was given to the jury, being persons of the best condition in Buckinghamshire.

30th. I went with a select Committee of the Commiss^{rs} for Greenwich Hospital,² and with S^r Ch^r Wren, where with him I laid the first stone of the intended foundation, precisely at 5 o'clock in the evening, after we had din'd together. Mr. Flamstead, the King's astronomical Professor, observing the punctual time by instruments.

July 4th. Note that my Lord Godolphin was the first of the subscribers who paid any money to this noble fabric.³

7th. A northern wind altering the weather with a

¹ Mr. Winstanley was the ingenious architect who built the Eddystone Light-house, and perished in it when blown down by the great storm in 1703.

² Sir William Ashurst, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir Thomas Lane, Sir Stephen Evance, John Evelyn, William Draper, Dr. Cade, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Thomas, Capt. Gatteridge, Mr. Firmin, Mr. Lake, and Capt. Heath.

³ SUBSCRIPTIONS TO GREENWICH HOSPITAL,
from Mr. Evelyn's Papers.

	£	s.	d.
The King	2000	0	0
Abp. Canterbury	500	0	0
Carried forward	£2500	0	0

continual and impetuous raine of 3 days and nights,
chang'd it into perfect winter.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	2500	0	0
Lord Keeper Sommers	500	0	0
Duke of Leeds, Pres. of the Council	500	0	0
E. of Pembroke, Lord Privy Seal	500	0	0
D. of Devonshire	500	0	0
Duke of Shrewsbury, Sec. of State	500	0	0
Earl of Romney	200	0	0
E. of Dorset	500	0	0
Lord Montague	300	0	0
Lord Godolphin, First Commiss. Treas ^y	200	0	0
Mr. Montague, Chan. Excheq.	100	0	0
Mr. Smith, Commiss. Treasury	100	0	0
Lord Ch. Justice Holt	100	0	0
Sir Ste. Fox, Commiss. Treasury	200	0	0
E. of Ranelagh	100	0	0
Sir John Lowther	100	0	0
Mr. Priestman	100	0	0
Sir Geo. Rooke	100	0	0
Sir John Houblon	100	0	0
Lord Chief Justice Treby	100	0	0
Sir Wm. Trumball, Pr. Sec. State	100	0	0
Sir Robt. Rich	100	0	0
Sir Hen. Goodrick	50	0	0
Col. Austen	100	0	0
Sir Tho. Lane	100	0	0
Sir Patience Ward	100	0	0
Sir Wm. Ashurst	100	0	0
Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls	100	0	0
Mr. Justice Rokeby	50	0	0
Mr. Justice Powell	50	0	0
Mr. Justice Eyre	50	0	0
Lord Ch. Baron Ward	66	13	4
Mr. Justice Gregory	50	0	0
Mr. Baron Powell	50	0	0
E. of Portland	500	0	0
Mr. Baron Powis	40	0	0
Sir Richard Onslow	100	0	0
Mr. Baron Lechmore	40	0	0
	£9046	13	4

By the Committee for the fabrick of Greenwich Hospital, Nov.

12th. Very unseasonable and uncertain weather.

26th. So little money in the nation that Exchequer Tallies, of which I had for £2,000 on the best fund in England, the Post Office, nobody would take at 30 per cent. discount.

Aug. 3rd. The Bank lending the £200,000 to pay the army in Flanders, that had don nothing against the enemy, had so exhausted the treasure of the nation, that one could not have borrow'd money under 14 or 15 p. c. on bills, or on Exche' Tallies under 30 p. cent.—Reasonable good harvest weather.—I went to Lambeth and din'd with the Abp. who had ben at Court on the complaint against Dr. Thomas Watson, Bp. of St. David's, who was suspended for simony.¹ The Abp. told me how unsatisfied he was with the Canon law, and how exceedingly unreasonable all their pleadings appear'd to him.

Sept. Fine seasonable weather, and a greate harvest after a cold wet summer. Scarcity in Scotland.

6th. I went to congratulate the marriage of a daughter of Mr. Boscawen to the son of S^r Philip Meadows; she is niece to my Lord Godolphin, married at Lambeth by the Abp. 30 Aug^t. After above 6 months stay in London about Greenwich Hospital, I return'd to Wotton.

4, 1696.—Expençe of the work already done, £5000 and upwards, towards which the Treasurer had not received above £800, so that they must be obliged to stop the work unless there can be a supply of money both from the tallies that have been assigned for payment of his Majesty's £2000, and the money subscribed by several noblemen and gentlemen; the Secretary was ordered to attend Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, to move for an order that the tallies may be fixt on such fund as may be ready money, or that the Treasurer of the Hospital may be directed to dispose of them on the best terms he can; and that the Solicitor with the Treasurer's clerk do attend the noblemen and gentlemen that have subscribed, to acquaint them herewith.

¹ Afterwards deprived; see p. 144.

Oct. 24th. Unseasonable stormy weather, and an ill seed-time.

Nov. Lord Godolphin retir'd from the Treasury, who was the first Commiss^r and most skilful manager of all.

8th. The first frost began fiercely, but lasted not long.—More plots talk'd of. Search for Jacobites so call'd.

15th-23rd. Very stormy weather, rain and inundations.

Dec. 13th. Continuance of extreme frost and snow.

1696-97. Jan. 17th. The severe frost and weather relented, but againe froze with snow.—Conspiracies continue against K. William. Sir I. Fenwick was beheaded.

Feb. 7th. Severe frost continued with snow. Soldiers in the armies and garrison towns frozen to death on their posts.

(Here a leaf of the MS. is lost.)¹

¹ In a letter to Dr. Bohun, dated Wotton 18th Jan. 1697, Mr. Evelyn says :

"Having ben told that you have lately inquir'd what is become of y^r now old friends of Says Court, the date hereof will acquaint you where they are, and the sequel much of what they do and think. I believe I neede not tell you that, after the marriage of my Daughter, and the so kind offer of my good Brother here, my then circumstances and times considered, I had reason to embrace it, not merely out of inclination to the place where I was born and have now an interest.

"Amongst other things I had paid £300 for the renewing of my lease [at Deptford] with some augmentation of what I hold from the Crowne, which the Duke of Leeds was supplanting me of ——— but I am not here on free cost.

"My L^d Godolphin (my ever noble patron and steady friend, now retir'd from a fatiguing station,) got me to be named Treasurer to the Marine Colledge erecting at Greenwich, with the salary of £200 per ann. of which I have never yet receiv'd one penny of the tallies assign'd for it, now two years at o^r Lady-day; my Son-in-law Draper is my substitute.—I have only had this opportunity to place my old (indeed faithfull) serv^t J. Str^d in an

Aug. 17th. I came to Wotton after 3 months absence.

employment at Greenwich, which with my other businesse, not small, among so many begarly tenants as yⁿ know I have at Deptford [is some provision for him]. I have let my house to Capt. Benbow, and have the mortification of seeing every day much of my former labours and expense there impairing for want of a more polite tennant.

“My Grandson is so delighted in books that he professes a library is to him the greatest recreation, so I give him free scope here, where I have neare upon 22,000 [qu. 2000?] (wth my Brother’s), and whither I would bring the rest had I any roome, which I have not, to my greate regrett, having here so little conversation with the learn’d, unlesse it be when Mr. Wotton [the learned gentleman before mentioned, the friend of Dr. Bentley,] comes now and then to visit me, he being tutor to Mr. Finch’s son at Albury, but which he is now leaving to go to his living, that without books, and the best Wife and Bro. in the world, I were to be pitied; but with these subsidiaries, and the revising some of my old imperinences, to which I am adding a Discourse I made on Medals (lying by me long before Obadiah Walker’s Treatise appear’d), I passe some of my Attic nights, if I may be so vaine as to name them wth the author of those Criticisms. For the rest, I am planting an ever-green grove here to an old house ready to drop, the œconomy and hospitality of which my good old Brother will not depart from, but *more veterum* kept a Christmas in w^{ch} we had not fewer than 300 bumkins every holy-day.

“We have here a very convenient appartment of 5 roomes together, besides a pretty closet, which we have furnish’d with the spoiles of Says Court, and is the raree-shew of the whole neighbourhood, and in truth we live easy as to all domestic cares. Wednesday and Saturday nights we call Lecture Nights, when my Wife and myselfe take our turnes to read the packets of all the newes sent constantly from London, w^{ch} serves us for discourse till fresh newes comes; and so you have the history of a very old man and his no young companion, whose society I have enjoy’d more to my satisfaction these 3 yeares here, than in almost 50 before, but am now every day trussing up to be gon, I hope to a better place.

“My Daughter Draper being brought to bed in the Christmas holidays of a fine boy, has given an heire to a most deserving husband, a prudent, well-natur’d gent. a man of businesse, like to be very rich, and deserving to be so, among the happiest paires I think in England, and to my Daughter’s and our hearts’ desire.

Sept. Very bright weather, but with sharp east wind. My Son came from London in his melancholy indisposition.

12th. Mr. Duncombe the rector came and preach'd after an absence of 2 yeares, tho' only living 7 or 8 miles off [at Ashted].—Welcome tidings of the peace.

Oct. 3rd. So greate were the storms all this week, that neere a 1000 people were lost going into the Texel.

Nov. 16th. The King's entry very pompous, but in nothing approaching that of K. Charles II.

Dec. 2nd. Thanksgiving day for the peace. The King and a greate Court at White-hall. The Bp. of Salisbury¹ preach'd, or rather made a florid panegyric on 2 Chron. 9. v. 7, 8.—The evening concluded with fire-works and illuminations of greate expence.

5th. Was the first Sunday that St. Paul's had had service perform'd in it since it was burnt in 1666.

6th. I went to Kensington with the Sheriff, Knights, and cheife gentlemen of Surrey, to present their Address to the King. The Duke of Norfolk promis'd to introduce it, but came so late, that it was presented before he came. This insignificant ceremony was brought in in Cromwell's time, and has ever since continu'd with offers of life and fortune to whoever happen'd to have the power. I din'd at S^r Rich^d Onslow's, who treated almost all the gentlemen of Surrey. When we had half din'd the D. of Norfolk came in to make his excuse.

12th. At the Temple church; it was very long before the service began, staying for the Comptroler

She has also a fine girle, and a Mother-in-law exceedingly fond of my Daughter, and a most excellent woman, charitable and of a very sweete disposition. They all live together, keepe each their coach, and with as suitable an equipage as any in towne."

¹ Burnet.

of the Inner Temple, where was to be kept a riotous and revelling Christmas according to custom.

18th. At Lambeth to Dr. Bentley, about the Library at St. James's.

23rd. I return'd to Wotton.

1697-98. A greate Christmas kept at Wotton, open house, much company. I presented my booke of Medails, &c. to divers Noblemen, before I expos'd it to sale.

Jan. 2nd. Dr. Fulham, who lately married my Niece, preach'd against Atheism, a very eloquent discourse, somewhat improper for most of the audience [at Wotton], but fitted for some other place, and very apposite to the profane temper of the age.

White-hall burnt, nothing but walls and ruins left.

30th. The imprisonment of the greate banker Duncomb : censur'd by Parliament; acquitted by the Lords; sent againe to the Tower by the Commons.¹

The Czar of Muscovy being come to England, and having a mind to see the building of ships, hir'd my house at Says Court, and made it his court and palace, new furnish'd for him by the King.²

¹ 25 Jan. 1697-98. Charles Duncombe, Esq. M.P. was charged with making false indorsements on Exchequer bills, and was committed close prisoner to the Tower. 29. Being ill, his apothecary and his brother Anthony Duncombe were permitted to see him. He confessed his guilt, and was expelled the House. A Bill was brought in for seizure of his estate, which was passed 26 Feb. after great opposition, 138 against 103. It was entitled "An Act for punishing C. Duncombe, Esq. for contriving and advising the making false Indorsements of several Bills made forth at Receipt of the Exchequer, commonly called Exchequer Bills." This being sent to the Lords, they desired a conference with the Commons, and not being satisfied, though he had acknowledged the fact, they discharged him from the Tower.

31 March, the Commons re-committed him. We do not find in the Journals of the House of Commons, that any thing further was done.

² Whilst the Czar was in his house, Mr. Evelyn's servant writes to him: "There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The

April 21st. The Czar went from my house to return home.—An exceeding sharp and cold season.

May 8th. An extraordinary greate snow and frost, nipping the corn and other fruits. Corn at 9s. a bushel [£18 a load].

30th. I din'd at Mr. Pepys, where I heard the rare voice of Mr. Pule, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer we had ever had. He sung severall compositions of the late Dr. Purcell.

June 5th. Dr. White, late Bishop of Norwich, who had been ejected for not complying with Government, was buried in St. Gregory's churchyard or vault at St. Paul's. His herse was accompanied by two non-juror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with 40 other non-juror clergymen, who would not stay the office of the burial, because the Dean of St. Paul's had appointed a conforming minister to read the office, at which all much wondered, there being nothing in that office w^{ch} mentioned the present King.

June 8th. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mr. Godolphin with the Earl of Marlborough's daughter.

9th. To Deptford to see how miserably the Czar had left my house, after 3 months making it his court. I got S^r Christ^r Wren, the King's surveyor, and Mr. London his gardener, to go and estimate the repairs, for which they allowed £150 in their report to the Lords of the Treasury.—I then went to see the foundation of the Hall and Chapel at Greenwich Hospital.

Aug. 6th. I dined with Mr. Pepys, where was

Czar lies next your library, and dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at 10 o'clock and 6 at night, is very seldom at home a whole day, very often in the King's Yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The King is expected here this day, the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The King pays for all he has."

Capt. Dampier,¹ who had ben a famous buccaneer, had brought hither the painted Prince Job,² and printed a relation of his very strange adventure, and his observations. He was now going abroad again by the King's encouragement, who furnished a ship of 290 tons.³ He seemed a more modest man than one would imagine by the relation of the crew he had assorted with. He brought a map of his observations of the course of the winds in the South Sea, and assured us that the maps hitherto extant were all false as to the Pacific Sea, w^{ch} he makes on the south of the line, that on the north end running by the coast of Peru being extremely tempestuous.

Sept. 25th. Dr. Foy came to me to use my interest with Lord Sunderland for his being made Professor of Physic at Oxford, in the King's gift. I went also to the Abp. in his behalf.

Dec. 7th. Being one of the Council of the Royal Society, I was named to be of the Committee to wait on our new President, the Lord Chancellor,⁴ our Secretary Dr. Sloane and S^r R. Southwell last Vice-president carrying our book of statutes : the office of the president being read, his Lordship subscribed his name, and took the oaths according to our statutes as a Corporation for the improvement of natural knowledge. Then his Lordship made a short compliment concerning the honour the Society had done him, and how ready he would be to promote so noble

¹ William Dampier, the celebrated navigator, born in 1652, whose travels were very extensive, but the time of his death is uncertain. His "Voyage round the World" has gone through many editions, and the substance of it has been transferred to many collections of voyages.

² Giolo, of whom there is a very curious portrait, engraved by Savage, to which is subjoined a singular narrative of his wonderful adventures; there is also a smaller one, copied from the above, prefixed to a fictitious account of his life, printed in a 4to pamphlet. Mr. Evelyn mentions him in his "Numismata."

³ Noticed in Parliament.

⁴ Lord Sommers.

a design, and come himself among us as often as the attendance on the public would permit; and so we took our leave.

Dec. 18th. Very warm, but exceeding stormy.

1698-99. Jan. My Cousin Pierrepont died. She was daughter to Sir John Evelyn, of Wilts, my Father's Nephew; she was widow of W^m Pierrepont, brother to the Marquiss of Dorchester, and mother to Evelyn Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston; a most excellent and prudent lady.

The House of Commons persist in refusing more than 7000 men to be a standing army, and no strangers to be in the number. This displeased the Court party. Our County Member Sir R. Onslow opposed it also, w^{ch} might reconcile him to the people, who began to suspect him.

Feb. 17th. My Grandson went to Oxford with Dr. Mander, the Master of Baliol College,¹ where he was entered a Fellow-commoner.

19th. A most furious wind, such as has not happened for many years, doing great damage to houses and trees, by the fall of w^{ch} several persons were killed.

March 5th. The old E. India Company lost their business against the new Company, by 10 votes in Parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tyger baited by dogs.

The persecuted Vaudois, who were banished out of Savoy, were received by the German Protestant Princes.

24th. My only remaining Son died after a tedious languishing sickness, contracted in Ireland and increased here, to my exceeding grief and affliction; leaving me one Grandson, now at Oxford, whom I pray God to prosper and be the support of the

¹ Dr. Roger Mander was elected Master of his College in the place of Dr. John Venn, deceased, 23 Oct. 1687. Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*.

Wotton family. He was aged 44 years and about 3 months. He had been 6 years one of the Commiss^{rs} of the Revenue in Ireland, with great ability and reputation.

26th. After an extraordinary storm, there came up the Thames a whale w^{ch} was 56 feet long. Such, and a larger of the spout kind, was killed there 40 years ago (June 1658). That year died Cromwell.

30th. My deceased Son was buried in the vault at Wotton, according to his desire.

The Duke of Devon lost £1900 at a horse-race at Newmarket.

The King preferring his young favorite Earl of Albemarle¹ to be first Commander of his Guard, the Duke of Ormond laid down his commission. This of the Dutch Lord passing over his head, was exceedingly resented by every body.

April. Lord Spencer purchased an incomparable library² of . . . wherein among other rare books were several that were printed at the first invention of that wonderful art, as particularly "Tully's Offices," &c. There was a Homer and a Suidas in a very good Greek character and good paper, almost as ancient. This gentleman is a very fine scholar, whom from a child I have known. His tutor was one Florival of Geneva.

April 29th. I dined with the Archbishop, but my business was to get him to persuade the King to purchase the late Bishop of Worcester's library, and build a place for his own library at St. James's, in the Park, the present one being too small.

May 3rd. At a meeting of the Royal Society I was nominated to be of the Committee to wait on the

¹ Arnold Joost Van Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, &c. in Feb. 1695-96, K.G. 1700, died in 1718, at the Hague, æt. 48.

² The foundation of the noble library now at Blenheim.

Lord Chancellor to move the King to purchase Bp. of Worcester's library (Dr. Edward Stillingfleet).

4th. The Court party have little influence in this Session.

7th. The Duke of Ormond restored to his commission.—All Lotteries, till now cheating the people, to be no longer permitted than to Christmas, except that for the benefit of Greenwich Hospital. Mr. Bridgman, chairman of the committee for that charitable work, died; a great loss to it. He was Clerk of the Council, a very industrious useful man. I saw the library of Dr. John Moore,¹ Bp. of Norwich, one of the best and most ample collection of all sorts of good bookes in England, and he, one of the most learned men.

June 11th. After a long drowth we had a refreshing shower. The day before, there was a dreadfull fire at Rotherhithe, neere the Thames side, w^{ch} burnt divers ships, and consum'd neere 300 houses.—Now died the famous Dutchess of Mazarine; she had ben the richest lady in Europe. She was niece of Cardinal Marzarine, and was married to the richest subject in Europe, as is said. She was born at Rome, educated in France, and was an extraordinary beauty and wit, but dissolute and impatient of matrimonial restraint, so as to be abandon'd by her husband, and banish'd, when she came into England for shelter, liv'd on a pension given her here, and is reported to have hasten'd her death by intemperate

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Ely. He died 31 July, 1714. King George the First purchased this library after the Bishop's death, for £6000, and presented it to the University of Cambridge, where it now is. This gift occasioned two most witty epigrams on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; a troop of horse being at this time sent to the former holding high Tory opinions; the books to the latter holding those of the Whigs and strong attachment to the Hanover family. They may be seen in Noble's Continuation of Granger.

drinking strong spirits. She has written her own story and adventures, and so has her other extravagant sister, wife to the noble family of Colonna.

15th. This week died Conyers Seymour, son of Sir Edw. Seymour, kill'd in a duell caus'd by a slight affront in St. James's Park, given him by one who was envious of his gallantries, for he was a vain foppish young man, who made a great eclat about town by his splendid equipage and boundless expence. He was about 23 yeares old; his brother, now at Oxford, inherited an estate of £7000 a year, w^{ch} had fallen to him not 2 yeares before.

19th. My Cousin Geo. Evelyn of Nutfield died suddenly.

25th. The heat has ben so great, almost all this month, that I do not remember to have felt much greater in Italy, and this after a winter the wettest, tho' not the coldest, that I remember for 50 yeares last past.

28th. Finding my occasions call'd me so often to London, I took the remainder of the lease my Son had in a house in Dover Street, to w^{ch} I now remov'd, not taking my goods from Wotton.

July 23rd. Seasonable showers after a continuance of excessive drowth and heat.

Aug. I drank the Shooters Hill waters. At Deptford they had ben building a pretty new church.—The Bishop of St. David's [Watson] depriv'd for simony.¹—The city of Moscow burnt by the throwing of squibs.

Sept. 3rd. There was in this weeke an eclipse of the sun, at w^{ch} many were frighten'd by the predictions of the astrologers. I remember 50 yeares ago that many were so terrified by Lilly that they durst not go out of their houses.—A strange earthquake at New Batavia in the East Indies.

Oct. 4th. My worthy Brother died at Wotton in

¹ See p. 134.

the 83^d year of his age, of perfect memory and understanding. He was religious, sober and temperate, and of so hospitable a nature, that no family in the county maintain'd that ancient custom of keeping, as it were, open house the whole yeare in the same manner, or gave more noble or free entertainment to the county on all occasions, so that his house was never free. There were sometimes 20 persons more than his family, and some that staid there all the summer, to his no small expense; by this he gain'd the universal love of the county. He was born at Wotton, went from the free school at Guildford to Trinity Coll. Oxford, thence to the Middle Temple, as gentlemen of the best quality did, but without intention to study the law as a profession. He married the daughter of Colwall,¹ of a worthy and ancient family in Leicestershire, by whom he had one son; she dying in 1643, left Geo. her son, an infant, who being educated liberally, after travelling abroad² return'd and married one Mrs. Gore, by whom he had several children, but only three daughters surviv'd: he was a young man of good understanding, but over indulging his ease and pleasure, grew so very corpulent, contrary to the constitution of the rest of his father's relations, that he died. My Brother afterwards married a noble and honourable lady, relict of S^r John Cotton, she

¹ Mary, daughter and coheiress of Daniel Caldwell, of Horndon in Essex. See pedigree.

² Mr. Evelyn, 30 Mar. 1664, in a letter to his nephew George Evelyn, then on his travels in Italy, tells him that his father complained of his expences, as much exceeding those of his own, which were known to the young gentleman's father, as all the money passed through his hands. He says that when he travelled he kept a servant, sometimes two, entertained several masters, and made no inconsiderable collection of curiosities, all within £300 *per ann.* He desires seeds of the ilex, phyllera, mirtle, jessamine, which he says are rare in England.

being an Offley, a worthy and ancient Staffordshire family, by whom he had several children of both sexes. This lady died leaving only two daughters and a son. The younger daughter died before marriage; the other afterwards married S^r Cyril Wych, a noble and learned gentleman (son of S^r Wych), who had ben Ambass^r at Constantinople, and was afterwards made one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Before this marriage, her only brother married the daughter of — Eversfield of Sussex, of an honourable family, but left a widow without any child living; he died about 1691, and his wife not many years after, and my Brother resettled the whole estate on me. His sister Wych had a portion of £6000, to w^{ch} was added about £300 more; the three other daughters, with what I added, had about £5000 each. My Brother died on 5 Oct. in a good old age and greate reputation, making his beloved daughter Lady Wych sole executrix, leaving me only his library and some pictures of my father, mother, &c. She buried him with extraordinary solemnity, rather as a nobleman than as a private gentleman. There were, as I computed, above 2000 persons at the funerall, all the gentlemen of the county doing him the last honours. I return'd to London, till my lady should dispose of herselfe and family.

Oct. 21st. After an unusual warm and pleasant season, we were surpriz'd with a very sharp frost.— I presented my *Acetaria* dedicated to my Lord Chancellor, who return'd me thanks in an extraordinary civil letter.¹

Nov. 15th. There happen'd this weeke so thicke a mist and fog that people lost their way in the streetes, it being so intense that no light of candles or torches

¹ See Mr. Evelyn's "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, 4to, pp. 721-812.

yielded any (or but very little) direction. I was in it and in danger.^a Robberies were committed between the very lights w^{ch} were fix'd between London and Kensington on both sides, and whilst coaches and travellers were passing. It began about 4 in the afternoone, and was quite gon by 8, without any wind to disperse it. At the Thames they beat drums to direct the watermen to make the shore.

19th. At our Chappell in the evening there was a sermon preach'd by young Mr. Horneck,¹ chaplain to Lord Guilford, whose lady's funeral had ben celebrated magnificently the Thursday before. A panegyric was now pronounc'd, describing the extraordinary piety and excellently imploy'd life of this amiable young lady. She died in childbed a few days before, to the excessive sorrow of her husband, who order'd the preacher to declare that it was on her exemplary life, exhortations and persuasion, that he totally chang'd the course of his life, w^{ch} was before in greate danger of being perverted, following the mode of this dissolute age. Her devotion, early piety, charity, fastings, œconomy, disposition of her time in reading, praying, recollections in her own hand-writing of what she heard and read, and her conversation, were most exemplary.

24th. I sign'd Dr. Blackwall's election to be the next yeere's Boyle's Lecturer.

Such horrible robberies and murders were committed, as had not ben known in this nation; atheism, profaneness, blasphemy, amongst all sorts, portended some judgment if not amended, on w^{ch} a Society was set on foot, who oblig'd themselves to endeavour the reforming of it, in London and other places, and began to punish offenders and put the laws in more strict execution, w^{ch} God Almighty prosper.²—A

¹ Of the character of this gentleman's father, see vol. ii. p. 403.

² See p. 150.

gentle, calm, dry, temperate weather all this season of the yeare, but now came sharp, hard frost, and mist, but calm.

Dec. 3rd. Calm, bright, and warm as in the middle of April. So continu'd on 21 Jan.—A great earthquake in Portugal.

The Parliam^t reverse the prodigious donations of the Irish forfeitures, w^{ch} were intended to be set apart for discharging the vast national debt. They call'd some greate persons in the highest offices in question for setting the greate seale to the pardon of an arch pirate,¹ who had turn'd pirate againe, and brought prizes into the West Indies, suspected to be conniv'd at on sharing the prey ; but the prevailing part in the House call'd Courtiers, out-voted the complaints, not by being more in number, but by the country party being negligent in attendance.

1699-1700. Jan. 14th. Dr. Lancaster, Vicar of St. Martin's, dismiss'd Mr. Stringfellow, who had ben made the first preacher at our chapell by the Bishop of Lincoln [Dr. Tenison, now Archbp.] whilst he held St. Martin's by dispensation, and put in one Mr. Sandys, much against the inclination of those who frequented the chapel.—The Scotch book about Darien was burnt by the hangman by vote of Parliament.²

21st. Died the Duke of Beaufort,³ a person of greate honour, prudence, and estate.

¹ Captain Kidd; he was hanged about two years afterwards with some of his accomplices. This was one of the charges brought by the Commons against Lord Somers.

² The volume alluded to was "An Enquiry into the causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien: Or an Answer to a Libel, entituled, A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien." See Votes of the House of Commons, 15 January, 1699-1700.

³ Henry Somerset, the first Duke, who exerted himself against the Duke of Monmouth in 1685; and in 1688, endeavoured to secure Bristol against the adherents of the Prince of Orange;

25th. I went to Wotton the first time after my Brother's funerall, to furnish the house with necessities, Lady Wych and my nephew Glanville the executors having sold and dispos'd of what goods were there of my Brother's.—The weather was now altering into sharp and hard frost.

One Stephens¹ who preach'd before the House of Commons on K. Charles's martyrdom, told them that the observation of that day was not intended out of any detestation of his murder, but to be a lesson to other Kings and Rulers, how they ought to behave themselves towards their subjects, lest they should come to the same end. This was so resented that tho' it was usual to desire these anniversary sermons to be printed, they refus'd thanks to him, and order'd that in future no one should preach before them who was not either a Dean or a Doctor of Divinity.

Feb. 4th. The Parliam^t voted against the Scots settling in Darien as being prejudicial to our trade with Spain. They also voted that the exorbitant number of attornies be lessen'd (now indeede swarming, and evidently causing law-suits and disturbance, eating out the estates of people, provoking them to go to law).

18th. Mild and calm season, with gentle frost, and little misling rain. The Vicar of St. Martin's frequently preach'd at Trinity chapel in the afternoone.

March 8th. The season was like April for warmth and mildnesse.—11. On Wednesday was a sermon at our chapell, to be continu'd during Lent.

upon whose elevation to the throne, his grace refusing to take the oaths, lived in retirement till his death.

¹ William Stephens, Rector of Sutton in Surrey. After the censure of his sermon by the House of Commons, he published it as in defiance. See more of this and of him in Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, ii. 487.

13th. I was at the funerall of my Lady Temple, who was buried at Islington, brought from Adscomb neere Croydon. She left my Son-in-law Draper (her nephew) the mansion house of Adscomb, very nobly and completely furnish'd, with the estate about it, with plate and jewels, to the value in all of about £20,000. She was a very prudent lady, gave many greate legacies, with £500 to the poore of Islington, where her husband Sir Purbeck Temple was buried, both dying without issue.

24th. The season warm, gentle, and exceeding pleasant.—Divers persons of quality enter'd into the Society for Reformation¹ of Manners; and some lectures were set up, particularly in the City of London. The most eminent of the Clergy preach'd at Bow Church, after reading a declaration set forth by the King to suppress the growing wickednesse; this began already to take some effect, as to common swearing, and oathes in the mouths of people of all ranks.

25th. Dr. Burnet preach'd to-day before the Lord Mayor and a very greate congregation on 27 Proverbs, v. 5 and 6. "Open rebuke is better than secret love; the wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy." He made a very pathetic discourse concerning the necessity and advantage of friendly correction.

April. The Duke of Norfolk now succeeded in obtaining a divorce from his wife by the Parliament for adultery with Sir John Germaine, a Dutch gamester of mean extraction, who had got much by gaming; the Duke had leave to marry againe, so that if he should have children, the Dukedom will go from the late Lord Thomas's children, Papists indeede, but very hopefull and virtuous gentlemen, as was their father. The now Duke their uncle is a Protestant.

¹ See p. 147.

The Parliament nominated 14 persons to go into Ireland as Commissioners to dispose of the forfeited estates there, towards paym^t of the debts incurr'd by the late war, but w^{ch} the King had in greate measure given to some of his favourites of both sexes, Dutch and others of little merit, and very unseasonably. That this might be don without suspicion of interest in the Parliament, it was ordered that no member of either House should be in the Commission.—The greate contest betweene the Lords and Commons concerning the Lords power of amendments and rejecting bills tack'd to the money bill, carried for the Commons. However, this tacking of bills is a novel practice, suffer'd by K. Cha. II. who being continually in want of money, let any thing pass rather than not have wherewith to feed his extravagance. This was carried but by one voice in the Lords, all the Bishops following the Court, save one; so that neere 60 bills pass'd, to the greate triumph of the Commons and country party, but high regret of the Court, and those to whom the King had given large estates in Ireland. Pity it is that things should be brought to this extremity, the governm^t of this nation being so equally poiz'd between King and subject, but we are satisfied with nothing, and whilst there is no perfection on this side Heaven, methinks both might be contented without straining things too far. Amongst the rest there pass'd a law as to Papists estates, that if one turn'd not Protestant before 18 yeares of age, it should passe to his next Protestant heire. This indeede seem'd a hard law, but not only the usage of the French King to his Protestant subjects, but the indiscreete insolence of the Papists here, going in triumphant and public processions with their Bishops, with banners and trumpets in divers places (as is said) in the northern counties, has brought it on their party.

April 24th. This weeke there was a greate change of State officers.—The Duke of Shrewsbury resign'd his Lord Chamberlainship to the Earl of Jersey, the Duke's indisposition requiring his retreat. Mr. Vernon, Secretary of State, was put out.—The seale was taken from the Lord Chancellor Somers, tho' he had ben acquitted by a greate majority of votes for what was charg'd against him in the House of Commons.¹ This being in term time put some stop to business, many eminent lawyers refusing to accept the office, considering the uncertainty of things in this fluctuating conjuncture. It is certaine that this Chancellor was a most excellent lawyer, very learned in all polite literature, a superior pen, master of a handsome style, and of easy conversation; but he is said to make too much haste to be rich, as his predecessor, and most in place in this age did, to a more prodigious excesse than was ever known. But the Commons had now so mortified the Court party, and property and liberty were so much invaded in all the neighbouring kingdoms, that their jealousy made them cautious, and every day strengthen'd the law w^{ch} protected the people from tyranny.

A most glorious spring, with hope of abundance of fruite of all kinds, and a propitious yeare.

May 10th. The greate trial between Sir Walter Clarges and Mr. Sherwin concerning the legitimacy of the late Duke of Albemarle, on w^{ch} depended an estate of £1500 a year; the verdict was given for Sir Walter.—19. Serjeant Wright² at last accepted the Great Seale.

24th. I went from Dover street to Wotton for the

¹ See p. 158.

² Sir Nathan Wrighte, appointed Lord Keeper, who purchased the manor of and resided at Gothurst, near Newport Pagnell, Bucks. He lies buried in that church, in which are whole-length figures in white marble of the Lord Keeper in his robes, and his

rest of the summer, and remov'd thither the rest of my goods from Says Court.

June 2nd. A sweete season, with a mixture of refreshing showers.

9th-16th. In the afternoone our Clergyman had a Catechism, w^{ch} was continu'd for some time.

July. I was visited with illness, but it pleas'd God that I recover'd, for which praise be ascrib'd to Him by me, and that He has again so graciously advertiz'd me of my duty to prepare for my latter end, w^{ch} at my greate age cannot be far off.

The Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, died of the small pox.

13th. I went to Marden, w^{ch} was originally a barren warren bought by Sir Rob^t Clayton,¹ who built there a pretty house, and made such alteration by planting not only an infinite store of the best fruite but so chang'd the natural situation of the hill, valleys and solitary mountains about it, that it rather represented some foreign country w^{ch} would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper; they were come to their perfect growth, with walks, mazes, &c. amongst them, and were preserv'd with the utmost care, so that I who had seen it some yeares before in its naked and barren condition, was in admiration of it. The land was bought of Sir John Evelyn of Godstone, and was thus improv'd for pleasure and retirement by the vast charge and industry of this opulent citizen. He and his lady receiv'd us with great civility.—The tombs in the church at Croydon of Abps. Grindal, Whitgift, and other Abps. are fine and venerable, but none comparable to that of the late Abp. Sheldon, w^{ch} being all of white marble, and of a stately ordnance and carvings, far

son, George Wrighte, Esquire, Clerk of the Crown, in his official dress.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 331.

surpass'd the rest, and I judge could not cost lesse than 7 or £800.¹

Sept. 20th. I went to Beddington, the ancient seate of the Carews,² in my remembrance a noble old structure, capacious, and in form of the buildings of the age of Hen. VIII. and Qu. Eliz. and proper for the old English hospitality, but now decaying with the house itselfe, heretofore adorn'd with ample gardens, and the first orange trees³ that had ben seen in England, planted in the open ground, and secur'd in winter onely by a tabernacle of boards and stoves removeable in summer, that standing 120 yeares, large and goodly trees, and laden with fruite, were now in decay, as well as the grotto, fountaines, cabinets and other curiosities in the house and abroad, it being now fallen to a child under age, and only kept by a servant or two from utter dilapidation. The estate and park about it also in decay.

23rd. I went to visite Mr. Pepys at Clapham where he has a very noble and wonderfully well furnish'd house, especially with India and Chinese curiosities. The offices and gardens well accommodated for pleasure and retirement.

Oct. 31. My birth day, now compleated the 80th year of my age. I with my soul render thanks to God, who of his infinite mercy, not onely brought me out of many troubles, but this yeare restor'd me to health, after an ague and other infirmities of so greate an age, my sight, hearing and other senses and faculties tolerable, w^{ch} I implore him to con-

¹ There is a print of this very beautiful monument in Lysons's "Environs of London," article Croydon, vol. i. p. 193.

² In the same volume, p. 52, &c. is an ample account of the family of Carew, of the house as it now is, portrait of Sir Rich. Carew, views of the church, monuments, &c.

³ Oranges were eaten in this kingdom in the time of K. James I. if not earlier, as appears by the accounts of a Student in the Temple, which the Editor has seen.

tinue, with the pardon of my sins past, and grace to acknowledge by my improvement of his goodnesse the ensuing yeare, if it be his pleasure to protract my life, that I may be the better prepar'd for my last day, thro' the infinite merits of my blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Amen.

Nov. 5th. Came the news of my deare Grandson (the only male of my family now remaining) being fallen ill of the small pox at Oxford, w^{ch} after the dire effects of it in my family exceedingly afflicted me, but so it pleas'd my most mercifull God that being let blood at his first complaint, and by the extraordinary care of Dr. Mander (head of the college and now Vice-Chancellor) who caus'd him to be brought and lodg'd in his own bed and bed-chamber, with the advice of his physician and care of his tutor, there were all faire hopes of his recovery, to our infinite comfort. We had a letter every day either from the Vice-Chancellor himselfe or his tutor.

17th. Assurance of his recovery by a letter from himselfe.

There was a change of greate officers at Court. Lord Godolphin return'd to his former station of first Commiss^r of the Treasury; S^r Cha. Hedges Secretary of State.

30th. At the Royal Society, Lord Somers, the late Chancellor, was continu'd President.

Dec. 8th. Greate alterations of officers at Court and elsewhere—Lord Cheif Justice Treby died; he was a learned man in his profession, of w^{ch} we have now few, never fewer; the Chancery requiring so little skill in deep law-learning, if the practiser can talk eloquently in that Court, so that probably few care to study the law to any purpose.—Lord Marlborough Master of the Ordnance, in place of Lord Romney made Groom of the Stole. The Earl of Rochester goes Lord Lieut^t to Ireland.

1700-1. Jan. I finish'd the sale of North Stoake in Sussex to Rob^t Michell, Esq. appointed by my brother to be sold for payment of portions to my neices, and other incumbrances on the estate.

4th. An exceeding deepe snow, and melted away as suddenly.

19th. Severe frost, and such a tempest as threw down many chimnies, and did great spoile at sea, and blew down above 20 trees of mine at Wotton.

Feb. 9th. The old Speaker laid aside,¹ and Mr. Harley,² an able gentleman, chosen. Our countryman Sir Rich^d Onslow, had a party for him.

27th. By an order of the House of Commons, I laid before the Speaker the state of what had ben receiv'd and paid towards the building of Greenwich Hospital.³

¹ Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Bart.

² Robert Harley, Speaker in three Parliaments in the reign of Queen Ann, Secretary of State, author of the South Sea scheme, Lord High Treasurer; attempted to be stabbed by Guiscard, a Frenchman under examination before the Lords of the Privy Council. He was afterwards created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

³ JOHN EVELYN, Esq. Dr. to GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

Received in the year	£	s.	d.
1696.	3,416	0	0
1697.	6,836	16	3
1698.	14,967	8	4
1699.	14,024	13	4
1700.	19,241	1	3
1701, June 16.	10,834	2	3
	69,320	1	5

Per Contra Creditor.

By the Account in	£	s.	d.
1696.	5,915	18	7
1697.	8,971	10	4
1698.	11,585	15	1
Carried forward	26,473	4	0

Mr. Wye, rector of Wotton, died, a very worthy good man. I gave it to Dr. Bohun, a learned person and excellent preacher, who had ben my Son's tutor, and liv'd long in my family.

March 18th. I lett Says Court to Lord Carmarthen, son to the Duke of Leeds.—28. I went to the funeral of my Sister Draper,¹ who was buried at Edmonton in greate state. Dr. Davenant displeas'd the clergy now met in Convocation by a passage in his book, p. 40.²

April. A Dutch boy of about 8 or 9 years old was carried about by his parents to shewe, who had about

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	26,473	4	0
1699	19,614	9	8
1700	18,013	8	5
1701	3,000	0	0
Remaine in Cash	219	1	4
	69,320	3	5
	69,320	3	5

Remaine in Lottery Tickets	}	£11,434
to be paid in ten year . . .		
More in Malt tickets . . .		1,000
		69,320
		12,424

In all 81,754

Beside His Ma^{ty} 6,000 and Subscriptions.

¹ Mother of the gentleman who married Mr. Evelyn's daughter.

² Cha. Davenant, LL.D. (son of Sir William). The book was, "Essays upon the Ballance of Power," in which he says that many of those lately in play, have used their utmost endeavours to discountenance all revealed religion. "Are not many of us able to point to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich benefices and dignities, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the Divinity of Christ?" The Convocation on reading the book, ordered papers to be fixed on several doors in Westminster Abbey, inviting the author, whoever he be, or any one of the many, to point out these persons, that they may be proceeded against. Biog. Brit. last edit.

the iris of one eye, the letters of *Deus meus*, and of the other *Elohim* in the Hebrew character. How this was don by artifice none could imagine; his parents affirming that he was so born. It did not prejudice his sight, and he seem'd to be a lively playing boy. Every body went to see him; physicians and philosophers examin'd it with greate accuracy, some consider'd it as artificial, others as almost supernatural.

4th. The Duke of Norfolk died of an apoplexy, and Mr. Tho. Howard of complicated disease since his being cut for the stone; he was one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Mr. How made a Baron.

May. Some Kentish men delivering a petition to the House of Commons, were imprison'd.¹

A greate dearth, no considerable raine having fallen for some months.

17th. Very plentifull showers, the wind coming west and south.—The Bishops and Convocation at difference concerning the right of calling the assembly and dissolving. Atterbury² and Dr. Wake³ writing one against the other.

June 20th. The Commons demanded a conference with the Lords on the trial of Lord Somers, w^{ch} the Lords refus'd, and proceeding on the trial, the Commons would not attend, and he was acquitted.⁴

22nd. I went to congratulate the arrival of that worthy and excellent person my Lord Galway, newly come out of Ireland, where he had behav'd himselfe

¹ Justinian Champneys, Thomas Colepepper, William Colepepper, William Hamilton, and David Polhill, gentlemen of considerable property and family in the county. There is a very good print of them in five ovals, on one plate, engraved by R. White in 1701. They desired the Parliament to mind the publick more, and their private heats less. They were confined till the prorogation, and were much visited. Burnet, v. 532.

² Afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

³ Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴ See p. 152.

so honestly, and to the exceeding satisfaction of the people; but he was remov'd thence for being a Frenchman,¹ tho' they had not a more worthy, valiant, discreet, and trusty person in the two kingdoms, on whom they could have relied for his conduct and fitness. He was one who had deeply suffer'd, as well as the Marquiss his father, for being Protestants.²

Aug. The weather chang'd from heate not much lesse than in Italy or Spain for some few days, to wet, dripping and cold with intermissions of faire.

July. My Lord Treasurer made my Grandson one of the Commiss^{rs} of the prizes, salary £500 per ann.

8th. My Grandson went with S^r Simon Harcourt, the Solicitor Gen^l, to Windsor, to wait on my Lord Treasurer. There had been for some time a proposal of marrying my Grandson to a daughter of Mr. Boscawen, sister of my Lord Treasurer, w^{ch} was now far advanc'd.

14th. I subscrib'd towards rebuilding Oakwood Chapel,³ now after 200 years almost fallen down.

Sept. 2nd. I went to Kensington and saw the house, plantations, and gardens, the work of Mr. Wise,⁴ who was there to receive me.

The death of K. James happening on the 15th of this month N.S. after two or three days indisposition put an end to that unhappy Prince's troubles, after a short and unprosperous reign, indiscreetly attempting to bring in Popery and make himselfe absolute in

¹ Henry Rouvigné, Earl of Galway in Ireland, son of the Marquis who was Ambassador from France to Charles II. He was created a Peer by King William, for his gallantry at the battle of the Boyne, where his brother also fought and was killed. He commanded afterwards both in Italy and Spain, where the fatal battle of Almanza put an end to his military glory. There is a mezzotinto portrait of him by Simon.

² See p. 37.

³ In the lower part of the parish of Wotton.

⁴ Mr. Wise was the great gardener of Brompton Park, see p. 114. See Evelyn's "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, 4to, pp. 714-15.

imitation of the French, hurried on by the impatience of the Jesuites, which the nation would not indure.

Died the Earl of Bath, whose contest with Lord Montague about the Duke of Albemarle's estate, claiming under a will supposed to have ben forg'd, is said to have been worth £10,000 to the lawyers. His eldest son shot himselfe a few days after his father's death, for what cause is not cleare. He was a most hopefull young man, and had behav'd so bravely against the Turks at the siege of Vienna, that the Emperor made him a Count of the Empire. —It was falsely reported that Sir E dw. Seymour was dead, a great man; he had often ben Speaker, Treasurer of the Navy, and in many other lucrative offices. He was of a hasty spirit, not at all sincere, but head of the party at any time prevailing in Parliament.

29th. I kept my first Courts in Surrey, w^{ch} took up the whole weeke. My steward was Mr. Hervey,¹ a Counsellor, Justice of Peace, and Member of Parliament, and my neighbour. I gave him 6 guineas, w^{ch} was a guinea a day, and to Mr. Martin his clerk 3 guineas.

Oct. 31st. I was this day 81 complete, in tolerable health considering my greate age.

Dec. Great contentions about elections. I gave my vote and interest to Sir R. Onslow and Mr. Weston.²

27th. My Grandson quitted Oxford.

1701-2. Jan. 21st. At the Royal Society there was read and approv'd the delineation and description of my Tables of Veins and Arteries,³ by Mr. Cooper the chirurgeon, in order to their being engrav'd.

March 8th. The King had a fall from his horse and broke his collar-bone, and having ben much indispos'd before, and aguish, with a long cough and

¹ Of Betchworth.

² Of Ockham; but Mr. Wessell of Bansted (a merchant) carried it against Mr. Weston.

³ Vol. i. p. 344; vol. ii. pp. 5, 46, 227.

other weaknesse, died this Sunday morning, about 4 o'clock.

I carried my accounts of Greenwich Hospital to the Committee.

April 12th. My Brother-in-law Glanville departed this life this morning after a long languishing illness, leaving a son by my Sister, and 2 grand-daughters.¹ Our relation and friendship had ben long and greate. He was a man of excellent parts. He died in the 84th year of his age, and will'd his body to be wrapp'd in lead and carried downe to Greenwich, put on board a ship and buried in the sea betweene Dover and Calais, about the Goodwin sands, w^{ch} was don on the Tuesday or Wednesday after. This occasioned much discourse, he having no relation at all to the sea. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Devonshire, and married my sister Jane. By his prudent parsimony he much improv'd his fortune. He had a place in the Alienation Office, and might have ben an extraordinary man had he cultivated his parts.

My steward at Wotton gave a very honest account of what he had laid out on repairs, amounting to £1900.

May 3rd. The Report of the Committee sent to examine the state of Greenwich Hospital was de-

¹ One of these daughters became heiress of the family, and married William Evelyn of St. Cleer in Kent, son of George Evelyn of Nutfield. He assumed the name of Glanville, but there being only daughters by this marriage, he had two sons by a second wife, and they resumed the name of Evelyn. The first of those sons left a son who died unmarried before he came of age, and a daughter who married Col. Hume, who has taken the name of Evelyn, but has no child; the second son of Mr. Glanville Evelyn married Lady Jane Leslie, who became Countess of Rothes in her own right, and left a son, George William, who became Earl of Rothes in right of his mother, and died in 1817, leaving no issue male.

liver'd to the House of Commons, much to their satisfaction. — Lord Godolphin made Lord High Treasurer.

Being elected a member of the Society lately incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I subscrib'd £10 p^r ann. towards the carrying it on. We agreed that every missionary, besides the £20 to set him forth, sho^d have £50 per ann. out of the stock of the Corporation till his settlement was worth to him £100 per ann. We sent a young divine to New York.

June 22nd. I din'd at the Abp's with the new-made Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Nicolson, my worthy and learned correspondent.

27th. I went to Wotton with my family for the rest of the summer, and my Son-in-law Draper with his family came to stay with us, his house at Adscomb being new building, so that my family was above 30. — Most of the new Parliament were chosen of Church of England principles, against the peevish party. — The Queene was magnificently entertain'd at Oxford and all the townes she pass'd through on her way to Bath.

Oct. 31st. Arriv'd now to the 82d year of my age, having read over all that pass'd since this day twelvemonth in these notes, I render solemn thanks to the Lord, imploring the pardon of my past sins, and the assistance of His grace; making new resolutions, and imploring that He will continue His assistance, and prepare me for my blessed Saviour's coming, that I may obtain a comfortable departure, after so long a term as has ben hitherto indulg'd me. I find by many infirmities this yeare (especially nephritic pains) that I much decline; and yet of His infinite mercy retain my intellects and senses in great measure above most of my age. I have this year repair'd much of the mansion-house and severall

tenants' houses, and paid some of my debts and engagements. My Wife, Children, and family in health : for all w^{ch} I most sincerely beseech Almighty God to accept of these my acknowledgements, and that if it be His holy will to continue me yet longer, it may be to the praise of His infinite grace, and salvation of my soul. Amen.

Nov. 8th. My kinsman John Evelyn of Nutfield, a young and very hopeful gentleman, and Member of Parliam^t,¹ after having come to Wotton to see me, about 15 days past, went to London and there died of the small pox. He left a brother, a commander in the army in Holland, to inherit a faire estate.

Our affaires in so prosperous a condition both by sea and land that there has not ben so great an union in Parliament, Court, and people, in memory of man, w^{ch} God in mercy make us thankfull for and continue. The Bp. of Exeter preach'd before the Queene and both Houses of Parliament at St. Paul's; they were wonderfully huzza'd in their passage, and splendidly entertain'd in the Citty.

Dec. The expectation now is what treasure will be found on breaking bulk of the galleon brought from Vigo by S^r Geo. Rooke, w^{ch} being made up in an extraordinary manner in the hold, was not begun to be open'd till the 5th of this month, before 2 of the Privy Council, 2 of the chiefe Magistrates of the Citty, and the Lord Treasurer.

After the excesse of honour conferr'd by the Queene on the Earl of Marlborough, by making him a Kn^t of the Garter, and a Duke, for the succeſſe of but one campaign, that he should desire £5000 a yeare to be settled on him by Parl^t out of the Post Office, was thought a bold and unadvis'd request, as he had, besides his own considerable estate, above £30,000 a yeare in places and employ-

¹ For Blechingley in Surrey.

ments, with £50,000 at interest. He had married one daughter to the son of my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, another to the Earl of Sunderland, and a third to the Earl of Bridgewater. He is a very handsome person, well-spoken and affable, and supports his want of acquir'd knowledge by keeping good company.

1702-3. News of Vice Adm. Benbow's conflict with the French fleet in the West Indies, in w^{ch} he gallantly behav'd himselfe, and was wounded, and would have had extraordinary successe, had not 4 of his men of war stood spectators without coming to his assistance; for this two of their commanders were tried by a Council of War, and executed;¹ a third was condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment, loss of pay and incapacity to serve in future. The fourth died.

Sir Rich^d Onslow and Mr. Oglethorpe (son of the late S^r Theo. O.) fought on occasion of some words w^{ch} passed at a Committee of the House. Mr. Oglethorpe was disarm'd.—The Bill against occasional Conformity was lost by one vote.—Corn and provisions so cheape that the farmers are unable to pay their rents.

Feb. A famous cause at the King's Bench between Mr. Fenwick and his wife,² w^{ch} went for him with a great estate. The Duke of Marlborough

¹ The Captains Kirby and Wade were tried and condemned to die by a Court Martial held on them in the West Indies—they were sent home in the Bristol, and on its arrival at Portsmouth were both shot on board, not being suffer'd to land on English ground.

² She was daughter and heir of Sir Adam Brown of Betchworth Castle in Dorking, and married Mr. Fenwick. This suit probably related to a settlement which she had consented to make, by which the estate was limited to them and their issue, and the heir of the survivor. They had one son, who died without issue, and she survived her husband, thereby becoming entitled to dispose of it.

lost his only son at Cambridge by the small pox.—A greate earthquake at Rome, &c.—A famous young woman, an Italian, was hir'd by our comedians to sing on the stage, during so many plays, for w^{ch} they gave her £500 ; which part by her voice alone at the end of three scenes she perform'd with such modesty and grace, and above all, with such skill, that there was never any who did any thing comparable with their voices. She was to go home to the Court of the King of Prussia, and I believe carried with her out of this vain nation above £1000,¹ every body covetting to hear her at their private houses.

May 26th. This day died Mr. Sam. Pepys, a very worthy, industrious and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in w^{ch} he had passed thro' all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all w^{ch} he perform'd with great integrity. When K. James II. went out of England, he laid down his office, and would serve no more, but withdrawing himselfe from all public affaires, he liv'd at Clapham with his partner Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweete place, where he enjoy'd the fruite of his labours in greate prosperity. He was universally belov'd, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skill'd in music, a very greate cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation. His library² and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he

¹ What would Madame Mara or Catalini in these days think of such a paltry sum ?

² His valuable library he gave to Magdalen College, Cambridge, together with his fine collection of prints, where they now remain in a very handsome room, and are to this day among the *videnda* of that University.

publish'd of an account of the Navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers yeares under his hand the History of the Navy, or *Navalia* as he call'd it; but how far advanc'd, and what will follow of his, is left, I suppose, to his sister's son Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of usefull learning, sending him to travel abroad, from whence he return'd with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be heir. Mr. Pepys had been for neere 40 yeares so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me compleat mourning,¹ desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies, but my indisposition hinder'd me from doing him this last office.

June 13th. Rains have ben greate and continual, and now, neere Midsummer, cold and wet.

July 11th. I went to Adscomb, 16 miles from Wotton, to see my Son-in-law's new house, the outside, to the coveing, being such excellent brick-work, bas'd with Portland stone, with the pilasters, windows and within, that I pronounced it in all the points of good and solid architecture to be one of the very best gentlemen's houses in Surrey, when finish'd. I returned to Wotton in the evening tho' weary.

July 25th. The last week in this month an uncommon long-continued rain, and the Sunday following thunder and lightning.

Aug. 12th. The new Commission for Greenwich Hospital was seal'd and open'd, at w^{ch} my son-in-law Draper was present, to whom I resign'd my office of Treasurer. From Aug^t 1696 there had ben expended in building £89,364. 14s. 8d.

Oct. 31st. This day, being 83 years of age, upon examining what concern'd me more particularly the

¹ A curious circumstance this.

past year, with the greate mercies of God preserving me, and in the same measure making my infirmities tolerable, I gave God most hearty and humble thanks, beseeching Him to confirm to me the pardon of my sins past, and to prepare me for a better life by the virtue of His grace and mercy, for the sake of my blessed Saviour.

Nov. 21st. The wet and uncomfortable weather staying us from church this morning, our D^r officiated in my family, at w^{ch} were present above 20 domestics. He made an excellent discourse on 1 Cor. 15, v. 55, 56, of the vanity of this world and uncertainty of life, and the inexpressible happiness and satisfaction of a holy life, with pertinent inferences to prepare us for death and a future state. I gave him thanks, and told him I tooke it kindly as my funeral sermon.

^{26th.}
^{27th.} The effects of the hurricane and tempest of wind, rain, and lightning thro' all the nation, especially London, were very dismal. Many houses demolish'd and people kill'd. As to my own losses, the subversion of woods and timber, both ornamental and valuable, through my whole estate, and about my house the woods crowning the garden mount, and growing along the park meadow, the damage to my own dwelling, farms, and outhouses, is almost tragical, not to be parallel'd with any thing happening in our age. I am not able to describe it, but submit to the pleasure of Almighty God.

Dec. 7th. I remov'd to Dover Street, where I found all well, but houses, trees, garden, &c. at Says Court suffer'd very much.

31st. I made up my accounts, paid wages, gave rewards and new years gifts according to custom.

1703-4. Jan. The King of Spain¹ landing at

¹ Charles the Third, afterwards Emperor of Germany, by the title of Charles the Sixth.

Portsmouth, came to Windsor, where he was magnificently entertain'd by the Queene, and behav'd himselfe so nobly that every body was taken with his graceful deportment. After 2 days, having presented the greate ladies and others with very valuable jewells, he went back to Portsmouth and immediately imbarck'd for Spain.

16th. The Lord Treasurer gave my Grandson the office of Treasurer of the Stamp Duties, with a salary of £300 a year.

30th. The fast on the martyrdom of King Cha. I. was observed with more than usual solemnity.

May. Dr. Bathurst, President of Trin. Coll. Oxford, now died,¹ I think the oldest acquaintance now left me in the world. He was 86 years of age, stark blind, deafe, and memory lost, after having ben a person of admirable parts and learning. This is a serious alarm to me. God grant that I may profit by it. He built a very handsome chapel to the college, and his own tomb. He gave a legacy of money, and the third part of his library, to his nephew Dr. Bohun, who went hence to his funeral.

Sept. 7th. This day was celebrated the thanksgiving for the late greate victory,² with the utmost pomp and splendor by the Queene, Court, greate Officers, Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Companies, &c. The streets were scaffolded from Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor presented her Majesty with the sword, w^{ch} she return'd. Every Company was rang'd under its banners, the Citty Militia without the rails, w^{ch} were all hung with cloth suitable to the colour of the banner. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, were in their scarlet robes, with caparison'd horses; the Knight

¹ There is a very good Life of him, with his portrait prefixed, by Mr. Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, and Poetry Professor at Oxford.

² Over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, Aug. 13, 1704.

Marshall on horseback; the Foot Guards; the Queene in a rich coach with 8 horses, none with her but the Dutchess of Marlborough in a very plain garment, the Queene full of jewells. Music and trumpets at every Citty Company. The greate Officers of the Crown, Nobility, and Bishops, all in coaches with 6 horses, besides innumerable servants, went to St. Paul's, where the Dean preach'd. After this the Queene went back in the same order to St. James's. The Citty Companies feasted all the Nobility and Bishops, and illuminated at night. Music for the church and anthems compos'd by the best masters. The day before was wet and stormy, but this was one of the most serene and calm days that had been all the yeare.

Oct. The year has been very plentifull.

Dec. Lord Clarendon presented me with the three volumes of his father's History of the Rebellion.

Oct. 31st. Being my birth-day and the 84th year of my life, after particular reflections on my concerns and passages of the yeare, I set some considerable time of this day apart to recollect and examine my state and condition, giving God thanks, and acknowledging his infinite mercys to me and mine, begging his blessing, and imploring his protection for the year following.

Dec. My Lord of Canterbury wrote to me for suffrage for Mr. Clarke's continuance this yeare in the Boyle Lecture, w^{ch} I willingly gave for his excellent performance of this year.

1704-5. Jan. 4th. I din'd at Lambeth with the Abp. of Dublin, Dr. King, a sharp ready man in politics, as well as very learned.

June. The season very dry and hot.—I went to see Dr. Dickinson¹ the famous chymist. We had

¹ Edmund Dickinson, of Merton College, Oxford, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts 22 June, 1647. He was living in

long conversation about the philosopher's elixir, w^{ch} he believ'd attainable, and had seen projection himselfe by one who went under the name of Mundanus, who sometimes came among the adepts, but was unknown as to his country or abode; of this the D^r has written a treatise in Latin, full of very astonishing relations. He is a very learned person, formerly a Fellow of St. John's Coll. Oxford,¹ in w^{ch} citty he practised physic, but has now altogether given it over, and lives retir'd, being very old and infirm, yet continuing chymistry.

I went to Greenwich Hospital, where they now began to take in wounded and worn-out seamen, who are exceeding well provided for. The buildings now going on are very magnificent.

Feb. 9th. I went to wait on my Lord Treasurer, where was the victorious Duke of Marlborough, who came to me and tooke me by the hand with extraordinary familiarity and civility, as formerly he was us'd to do, without any alteration of his good nature. He had a most rich George in a sardonix set with diamonds of very greate value; for the rest, very plain. I had not seen him for some yeares, and believ'd he might have forgotten me.

21st. Remarkable fine weather. Agues and small pox much in every place.

Mar. 11th. An exceeding dry season.—Greate loss Westminster in 1692, in good repute for his practice in the faculty of physic. He published several things. Wood's Fasti Oxon, p. 74¹.

¹ He was afterwards a Fellow of Merton. He died in 1707, aged 84. Dr. Campbell, in his edition of the Biog. Brit. speaks very highly of him; but Dr. Kippis, in the new edition of that work, differs much from the Doctor, though he allows him to have been a very learned man. Mr. Evelyn must have mistaken Dr. Dickinson as to his not knowing who Mundanus was, as in 1686 the Doctor printed a letter to him with his answer from Paris; in the latter, Mundanus says he made two projections in his presence. Biog. Brit. art. Dickinson.

by fire, burning the outhouses and famous stable of the Earl of Nottingham at Burleigh [Rutlandshire], full of rich goods and furniture, by the carelessness of a servant. A little before, the same happen'd at Lord Pembroke's at Wilton.—The old Countess of Northumberland, dowager of Algernon Percy, Adm^l of the Fleete to K. Cha. I. died in the 83d yeare of her age. She was sister to the Earl of Suffolk, and left a greate estate, her jointure to descend to the Duke of Somerset.¹

May. The Bailiff of Westm^r hang'd himself. He had an ill report.

On the death of the Emperor there was no mourning worn at Court, because there was none at the Imperial Court on the death of King William.

18th. I went to see Sir John Chardine² at Turnham Green, the gardens being very fine, and exceeding well planted with fruite.

20th. Most extravagant expence to debauch and corrupt votes for Parliament members. I sent my Grandson with his party of my freeholders to vote for Mr. Harvey of Combe.³

Oct. Mr. Cowper⁴ made Lord Keeper. Observing how uncertain greate officers are of continuing long in their places, he would not accept it unless £2000 a yeare were given him in reversion when he was put out, in consideration of his losse of practice. His predecessors, how little time soever they had the Seal, usually got £100,000, and made themselves

¹ This Duke had married Eliz. Percy, widow of Lord Cole, only daughter and heir to Joceline Percy, the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland.

² See vol. ii. p. 425.

³ Sir Richard Onslow and Sir William Scawen were the other candidates, and succeeded. Mr. Harvey was a violent Tory.

⁴ William Cowper, created a Baron in 1706, and Lord Chancellor, afterwards Viscount Fordwich and Earl Cowper, by George the First.

Barons.—A new Secretary of State.¹—Lord Abington, Lieu^t of the Tower, displac'd, and General Churchill, brother to the Duke of Marlborough, put in. An indication of great unsteadiness somewhere, but thus the crafty Whig party (as call'd) begin to change the face of the Court, in opposition to the High Churchmen, w^{ch} was another distinction of a party from the Low Churchmen. The Parliament chose one Mr. Smith Speaker.² There had never ben so greate an assembly of members on the first day of sitting, being more than 450. The votes both of the old, as well as the new, fell to those call'd Low Churchmen, contrary to all expectation.

Oct. 31st. I am this day arriv'd to the 85th year of my age. Lord teach me so to number my days to come that I may apply them to wisdom.

1705-6. Jan. 1st. Making up my accounts for the past year, paid bills, wages, and new years gifts according to custom. Tho' much indisposed and in so advanc'd a stage, I went to our chapel [in London] to give God public thanks, beseeching Almighty God to assist me and my family the ensuing yeare, if he should yet continue my pilgrimage here, and bring me at last to a better life with him in his heavenly kingdom. Divers of our friends and relations din'd with us this day.

27th. My indisposition increasing, I was exceeding ill this whole week.

Feb. 3rd. Notes of the sermons at the chapel in the morning and afternoon, written with his own hand, conclude this Diary.

He died on the 27th of this month.

¹ Charles Earl of Sunderland.

² John Smith, Esq. Member for Andover.



ILLUSTRATIONS.





ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.

VOL. I. P. 8.

The following Letter from Geo. Evelyn, Esq. elder brother of Mr. J. E. when at College, to his father Richard at Wotton, 26 Sept. 1636, giving an account of the Visit made by the King and Queen to the University of Oxford, with some particulars respecting himself, contains some curious matter.



KNOW you have longe desired to heere of my welfaire, and the totall series of his Majesty's entertainement whilst hee was fixed in the center of our Academie.

The Archbishop our L^d Chauncelour [Laud] and many Bishops, Doctor Bayley o^r Vice-Chauncelour, wth the rest of the Doctors of the University, together wth the Maior of the City, and his brethren, rode out in state to meet his Majesty, the Bishops in their pontificall robes, the Doctors in their scarlet gowns and their black capps (being the habite of the University), the Maior and Aldermen in their scarlett gowns, and 60 other townsmen all in blacke satin doublets and in old fashion jacketts. At the appropinquatioⁿ of y^e King, after the Beedles stafes were delivered up to his Majesty in token y^t they yealded up all their authority to him, the Vice-Chauncelor spooke a speech to the King, and presented him wth a Bible in the Universitys behalfe, the Queene wth Camden's Britannia in English, and the Prince Elect (as I tooke it) wth Croke's Politicks; all of them wth gloves (because Oxford is

famous for gloves¹). A litle nigher the City where y^e Citye bounds are terminated, the Maior presented his Majesty wth a large guilt cupp, *et tenet vicinitatem opinio* the Recorder of the City made a speech to his Majestie. In the entrance of the Universitie, at St. John's College, he was detained wth another speech made by a Fellow of the house. The speech being ended, he went to Christe-church, schollers standing on both sides of the street according to their degrees and in their formalits, *clamantes, Vivat Rex noster Carolus*: Being entered Christ-church he had another speech made by the Universitie oratour, and student of the same house: the subject of all wth speeches being this, expressing their joy and his welcome to y^e Universitie. Then retiring himselfe a litle he went to prayers; they being ended, soone after to supper, and then to the play, whose subject was the Calming of the Passions; but it was generallie misliked of the Court, because it was so grave, but especially because they understood it not. This was the first days entertainment.

The next morning he had a sermon in Christ-church, preached by Browne the Proctor of the University, and a student of the house. The sermon being ended, the Prince Elect and Prince Rupert went to St. Mary's, where there was a congregation, and Prince Rupert created M^r of Arts, also many nobles wth him. The reason why the Prince Elect was not created M^r of Arts, was because Cambridge o^r sister had created him before. The congregation done, the King, Queene, and all the nobles went to the Schooles (the glory of Christendome) where in y^e publick Library, his Majesty heard another speech, spoaken by my Ld Chamberlans 3^d sonne, and of Exeter Colledge, w^{ch} speech the K. liked well. From the Schooles the K. went to St. Johns to dinner, where the Archbishop entertained his Majesty wth a magnificent dinner and costly banquet [dessert]. Then wth a play made by the same house. The play being ended, he went to Christ-church, and after supper to another play, called the Royall Slave,² all the

¹ Gloves always made part of a present from Corporate Bodies at that time, more or less ornamented with rich fringes according to the quality of the persons to whom they were offered.

² By William Cartwright, a student of that College. In this play one of his fellow students (afterwards the famous Dr. Busby) performed a part (that of

actors performing in a Persian habite, w^{ch} play much delighted his Majesty and all the nobles, commending it for the best y^t ever was acted.

The next morning he departed from the University, all the Doctors kissing his hand, his Majesty expressing his kingly love to y^e University, and his countenance demonstrating unto us that he was well pleased wth this his entertainment made by us schollars.

After the King's departure there was a Congregation called, where many Doctors, some Maisters of Arts, and a few Batchelours were created, they procuring it by making friends to y^e Paulsgrave. There were very few that went out that are now resident, most of them were L^{ds} and gentlemen. A Doctor of Divinity and Batchelour of Arts were created of o^r house [Trinity], but they made special friends to gett it.

Wth the £30 you sent me I have furnished me wth those necessarys I wanted, and have made me two suits, one of them being a blacke satin doublett and black cloth breeches, the other a white satin doublett and scarlett hoase; the scarlett hoase I shall weare but litile heare, but it will be comely for me to weare in the country.

Yo^r desire was that I should be as frugal in my expences as I could, and I assure you, honoured Sir, I have been; I have spent none of it in riot or toyes. You hoped it would be sufficient to furnish me and discharge my battailes for this quarter, but I feare it will not, therefore I humbly entreat you to send me £6. I know what I have already, and wth this I send for, wil be more than enough to discharge these months, but I know not what occasion may fall out.

Trin. Coll. Oxon, 26. 7b^r 1636.

II.

VOL. II. P. 110.

In the Edition of Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle published with additions by Edward Phillips (Milton's nephew) there is an Cratander) so excellently well, and with so much applause, that it is said he had almost determined to commence actor on the publick stage.

III.

N

account of the transactions between Mr. Evelyn and Col. Morley, relative to the latter's being urged by Mr. Evelyn after Cromwell's death, to declare for the King. In a subsequent edition in 1730, this account is considerably altered. Amongst Mr. Evelyn's papers at Wotton, there is the original account drawn up by Sir Tho. Clarges and sent to Mr. Phillips; it is in Sir Thomas's own hand-writing, was evidently sent to Mr. Evelyn for his perusal, and is thus indorsed by him :

"S^r Thomas Clarges (brother-in-law to the Duke of Albemarle) insertion of what concern'd M^r Evelyn & Coll: Morley in the continuation of the History written by M^r Phillips & added to S^r Rich. Baker's Chronicle. Note that my lett^r to Col: Morley was not rightly copied, there was likewise too much sayd concerning me, which is better & as it ought to be in the second impression 1664."

Mr. Phillips's account is as follows :

"In the seven hundred and nineteenth page of this History wee omitted to insert a very materiall negotiation for the Kings service, attempted upon the interruption given to the Parliament by Col. Lambert and those that joynd with him therein, which was managed by Mr. Evelin of Says Court by Deptford in Kent, an active, vigilant, and very industrious agent on all occasions for his Ma^{ties} Restauration; whoo supposing the members of this supposititious Parliament could not but ill resent that affront, thought to make advantage of fixing the impression of it to the ruine of the Army, for the effecting whereof he applied himself to Colonel Herbert Morley, then newly constituted one of the five Commissioners for the command of the Army, as a person by his birth, education & interest unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the ruine of his country and the infamie of his posteritie.

"Mr. Evelin gave him some visits to tempt his affection by degrees to a confidence in him, & then by consequence to ingage him in his designes; and to induce him the more powerfully thereunto, he put into his hands an excellent and unanswerable hardie treatise by him written, call'd 'An Apology for the Royal Party,' w^{ch} he backd with so good arguments and a very dextrous addresse in the prosecution of them, that the Colonel was wholly convinc'd, and recommended to him the procurement of the

Kings pardon for him, his brother in law M^r Fagg, and one or two more of his relations. This M^r Evelin faithfully promis'd to endeavour, and taking the opportunity of S^r Samuel Tuke's going at that time into France, he by him acquainted the King (being then at Pontoise) with the relation of this affaire, wherewith he was so well pleas'd as to declare if Coll. Morley & those for whom he interceded were not of those execrable judges of his blessed Royall father, they shuld have his pardon, and he receive such other reward as his services should deserve. Upon the sending this advice to the King, the Coll. left London, because of the jealousy w^{ch} Fleetwood and Lambert had of him; but before he went he desired Mr. Evelin to correspond with him in Sussex by meanes of M^r Fagg his brother in law, who then lay in the Mewes.

“Mr. Evelin had good reason to believe Colonel Morley very capable of serving the King at this time, for he had a much better interest in Sussex then any of his party; whereby he might have facilitated his Ma^{ties} reception in that county in case his affaires had required his landing there; but besides his power in Sussex, he had (as he said) an influence on two of the best regiments of the Army, and good credit with many of the Officers of the Fleet.

“But before the returne from France of the King's resolution in this matter there interviened many little changes in the posture of affairs.

“Upon the advance of General Monck in favour of the Parliament, and the generall inclination of the Army to him, Colonel Morley expected the restitution of that power, and with it of his own authority, and was leagued with Walton and Hazlerig in a private treaty wth Colonel Whetham the Governor of Portsmouth for the delivery of that garrison to them; and Fagg went privately from London to raise a regiment in Sussex to promote these designs, but was suppress'd before he gott any considerable number of men together.

“M^r Evelin not knowing of these intrigues, in vaine endeavour'd by all imaginable wayes to communicate the King's pleasure to Morley, whooe was by this time in the garrison of Portsmouth.

“But when the Parliament resum'd their power, and he [Morley]

was placed in the government of the Tower, he [Evelin] thought it expedient to renew the former negotiation betwixt them for his Ma^{ties} service, and in order thereunto he often by visitts made application to him, but could never but once procure accesse ; and then he dismissed him with a faint answer, "That he would shortly wait upon him at his lodging."

"This put Evelin into so much passion that he resolv'd to surmount the difficulty of accesse by writing freely to him, which he did in this manner :

To Coll: Morley, Lieutenant of the Towre.¹

S^r,

For many obligations, but especially for the last testimonies of y^r confidence in my friendship, begun so long since, and conserved so inviolably through so many changes, and in so universall a decadence of honour, & all that is sacred amongst men, I come with this profound acknowledgement of the favours you have don me ; and had a great desire to have made this a personall recognition and to congratulate y^r returne, and the dignities which y^r merites have acquired, and for which none dos more sincerely rejoyce ; could I promise my selfe the hapynesse of finding you in y^r station at any season wherein the publique, and more weighty concernments did afford you the leasure of receiving a visite, from a person so inconsiderable as my selfe. But, since I may not hope for that good fortune, and such an opportunity of conveying my respects, & the greate affections which I owe you ; I did presume to transmitt this expresse ; and by it, to present you with the worthiest indications of my zeale to continue in the possession of your good graces, by assuring you of my great desires to serve you in whatsoever may best conduce to y^r honour, and to a stability of it, beyond all that any future contingencies of things can promise : because I am confident, that you have a nobler prospect upon the successe of y^r designes, then to prostitute y^r vertues & y^r conduct to serve the passions or avarice of any particular persons whatsoever ; being (as you are) free and incontaminate, well borne, and abhorring to dishonour or enrich y^r selfe with the spoyles which by others have ben ravish't from our

¹ The following letter is taken from Mr. Evelyn's own copy.

miserable, yet dearest country; and which renders them so zealous to pursue the ruine of it, by labouring to involve men of the best natures, and reputation, into their owne inextricable labarynths, & to gratifie that which will pay them w^h so much infamy in the event of things, & with so inevitable a perdition of their precious soules, when all these vncertainties (how specious so euer at present) shall vanish and come to nothing.

There is now, S^r, an opportunity put into y^r hands, by improving whereof you may securely act for the good of y^r country, and the redemption of it from the insupportable tyrannies, injustice, and impieties vnder which it has now groan'd for so many yeares, through the trechery of many wicked, and the mistakes of some few good men. For by this, S^r, you shall best do honour to God, and merite of y^r country; by this y^u shall secure y^r selfe, & make y^r name greate to succeeding ages: by this you shall crowne y^r selfe with reall & lasting dignities. In sum, by this, you shall oblige even those whom you may mistake to be y^r greatest enemies, to embrace & cherish you as a person becoming the honour of a brave and worthy patriot, and to be rewarded with the noblest expressions of it; when, by the best interpretations of y^r charity and obedience to the dictates of a Christian, you shall thus heape coales of fire vpon their head; and which will at once give both light and warmth to this afflicted Nation, Church, and People, not to be extinguished by any more of those impostors whom God has so signally blowne off the stage, to place such in their stead, as have opportunities given them of restoring us to our antient knowne lawes, native and most happy liberties: It is this, S^r, which I am oblig'd to wish to encourage y^u in, and to pronounce as the worthyest testimonie of my congratulations for y^r returne; and which, you may assure your selfe, has the suffrages of the sollidest and best ingredient of this whole nation. And having sayd thus much, I am sure you will not looke vpon this letter as a servile addresse; but, if you still retaine that favour and goodnesse for the person who presents it, that I haue reason to promise my selfe, from the integritie which I haue hitherto observed in all y^r professions; I conjure you to believe, that you haue made a perfect acquisition of my service; and, that (however events succede) I am still the same person, greedy of an opportunity to

recom'end the sincerity of my affection, by doing you whatsoever service lyes in my power ; and I hope you shall not find me without some capacities of expressing it in effects, as well as in the words of

honorable S^r &c.

Covent Garden

12th Jan: $\frac{5}{6}$.

“ In a note he adds ; Morley was at this time Lieut^t of the Towre of London, was absolute master of the Citty, there being very few of the Rebell army any where neere it, save at Somerset house a trifling garrison w^{ch} was marching out to reinforce Lambert, who was marching upon the newes of Monk's coming out of Scotland. He was Lieut^t of all the confederate counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, &c. ; his brother-in-law Gov^r of Portsmouth and Hampshire ; his own bro. W^m Morley Gov^r of Arundel Castle ; in sum he had all the advantages he could have desired to have raised the well affected of the Citty & Country universally breathing after a deliverer (uncertain as to what Monk intended), & so had absolutely prevented any [other] person or power whatever (in all appearance) from having the honour of bringing in the King, before those who were in motion could have snatch'd it out of his hand. Of all this I made him so sensible, when I was with him at the Towre, that nothing but his fatal diffidence of Monk's having no designe to bring in his Ma^{tie} because he had [not] discover'd it whilst matters were yet in the dark (but y^e designe certainly resolv'd on) kept him wavering & so irresolute (tho he saw the game sufficiently in his hands) as to sit still & put it off till Lambert & his forces being scatter'd & taken, Monk marched into the Citty triumphant with his wearied Army, possessed the gates, & with no great cun'ing & little difficulty, finding how the people & magistrates were dispos'd (w^hever his general intentions were, or at first seem'd to be), boldly & fortunately brought to pass that noble Revolution, following it to his eternal honour by restoring a banished Prince & the people's freedom. This poor Morley saw, & implor'd my interest by w^t meanes he might secure himself and obtaine his pardon. This is in short a true account of that remarkable affaire.”

Mr. Phillips goes on thus from Sir Thomas Clarges's paper :

"Wee shall not here determine what it was that induc'd Colonel Morley (at the time of his being Lieutenant of the Tower) to decline commerce with M^r Evelin for the Kings service, whether it was that he doubted of the concurrence of his officers & soldiers, whoe had bin long trained up in an aversion to monarchy, or whether by the intire subjection of the Army to Monck, and their unity thereupon, he thought that work now too difficult, which was more fesible in the time of their division: But it is most certaine that he tooke such impressions from M^r Evelin's discourses and this letter, that ever after he appeared very moderate in his counsells, and was one of the forwardest to embrace all opportunities for the good of his country; as was evident by his vigorous & hazardous opposition in Parliament to that impious oath of abjuration to the Kings family and line (hereafter mentioned) before it was safe for Generall Monck to discover how he was inclined; and by his willing conjunction and confederacy after with the Generall for the admission of the secluded members in proclamation for a free Parliament for the King's restauration." ¹

¹ In 1815 Baron Maseres re-published some Tracts relating to the Civil War in England in the time of King Charles I. amongst which is "The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restauration, by the Rev. Dr. John Price, one of the late Duke of Albemarle's chaplains, who was privy to all the secret passages and particularities of that Glorious Revolution." Printed in 1680. In this tract it is stated that Monk's officers being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rump Parliament, pressed him to come to some decision, whereupon, on 11 Feb. 1660, they sent the letter to the Parliament, desiring them first to fill up the vacancies, and then to determine their own sitting, and call a new Parliament. Dr. Price then says, "The General yielded at length to their fears and counsells, and the rather for that he was assured of the Tower of London, the Lieutenant of it (Col. Morley) having before offered it to him. This the noble Colonel had done in the City, pitying the consternation of the citizens when he saw what work was doing [Monk's pulling down the City Gates a few days before by order of the Rump Parliament] and what influence it would have on the country." He adds, "that though the Rump did not dare to take away the General's commission as one of their Commissioners for governing the Army, they struck out his name from the quorum of them, which virtually did take away his authority, and he and Morley were left to stem the tide against Hazlerigg, Alured, and Walton."

These are the only mentions which he makes of Morley, by which it seems that the first communication between him and Monk was when the latter had broken down the City Gates, on the 9th February.

III.

PAGE 478, VOL. II.

Feb. 6, 1687-88, there was printed what was called "A true and perfect Narrative of the strange and unexpected finding the Crucifix and Gold-chain of that pious Prince, St. Edward the King and Confessor, which was found after 620 years interment, and presented to his most sacred Majesty King James the Second. By Charles Taylour, Gent. London, printed by J. B. and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers' Hall, 1688."

He says, that "on St. Barnaby's Day, 1685, between 11 and 12 at noon, he went with two friends to see the coffin of Edward the Confessor, having heard that it was broke; fetched a ladder, looked on the coffin and found a hole as reported, put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones which he felt there, drew from under the shoulder bones a crucifix richly adorned and enamelled, and a golden chain of 24 inches long to which it was fixed; shewed them to his two friends; was afraid to take them away till he had acquainted the Dean; put them into the coffin again; but the Dean not being to be spoke with then, and fearing this treasure might be taken by some other, he went two or three hours afterwards to one of the Quire, acquainted him with what he had found, who accompanied him to the monument, from whence he again drew the crucifix and chain; his friend advised him to keep them until he could shew them to the Dean (the Bp. of Rochester); kept them three weeks before he could speak to the Bishop; went to the Abp. of York, and shewed them; next morning the Abp. of York carried him to the Abp. of Canterbury at Lambeth, and shewed them. After this he procured an exact drawing to be made of them; shewed them to Sir William Dugdale. 6 July, the Abp. of Canterbury told the Bp. of Rochester, who, about four that afternoon, sent for him, and took him to Whitehall, that he might present them to the King, which he did

Had there been any previous concert between Monk and Morley, the latter would not have wanted Mr. Evelyn's assistance to obtain his pardon, which however he did want, and obtained through Mr. Evelyn.

See vol. ii. p. 110.

accordingly. The King ordered a new strong wooden coffin to be made to inclose the broken one. The links of the chain oblong, and curiously wrought; the upper part joined by a locket, composed of a large round nob of gold, massy, in circumference as big as a milled shilling, half an inch thick; round this went a wire and half a dozen little beads, hanging loose, running to and again on the same, all of pure gold, finely wrought; on each side of the locket were set two large square stones (supposed to be rubies). From each side of this locket, fixed to two rings of gold, the chain descends, and, meeting below, passes through a square piece of gold, of a convenient bigness, made hollow for the same purpose. This gold, wrought into several angles, was painted with divers colours, resembling gems or precious stones, to which the crucifix was joined, yet to be taken off by help of a screw. The form of the cross nearest that of an humettée flory (among the heralds), or rather the botany [botonée], yet the pieces not of equal length, the perpendicular beam being near one-fourth part longer than the traverse, as being four inches to the extremity, whilst the other scarce exceeds three; yet all neatly turned at the ends, and the botons enamelled with figures thereon. The cross, of the same gold as the chain, but exceeds it by its rich enamel, having on one side the picture of our Saviour Christ in his passion wrought thereon, and an eye from above casting a kind of beam on him; on the reverse, picture of a Benedictine monk in his habit, and on each side of him these capital Roman letters:—

On the right,

(A)

Z A X

A

And on the left,

P

A C

H

This cross is hollow, to be opened by two little screws towards the top, wherein, it is presumed, some relique might have been conserved. William I. commanded the coffin to be inshrined, and the shrine covered with plates of gold and silver, adorned with pearls and precious stones. About 136 years after, the Abbot resolved to inspect the body, said to be incorruptible, and on opening found it to be so, being perfect, the limbs flexible: the face covered: Gundolph, Bishop of Rochester, withdrew the cover, but, with great reverence, covered it again, changing the

former vestments, and putting on others of equal price. In 1163, Thomas à Becket procured a canonization of the King, and in the ceremony the Abbot opened the coffin, found the body lying in rich vestments of cloth of gold, having on his feet buskins of purple, and shoes of great price; the body uncorrupted; removed the whole body from the stone repository to another of wood, some assisting at the head, others at the arms and legs; they lifted it gently, and laid the corpse first on tapestry spread on the floor, and then wrapping the same in silken cloaths of great value, they put it into the wooden chest, *with all those things that were found in the former*, except the gold ring which was on the King's finger, which the Abbot, *out of devotion, retained*, and ordered it to be kept in the Treasury of the Abbey.

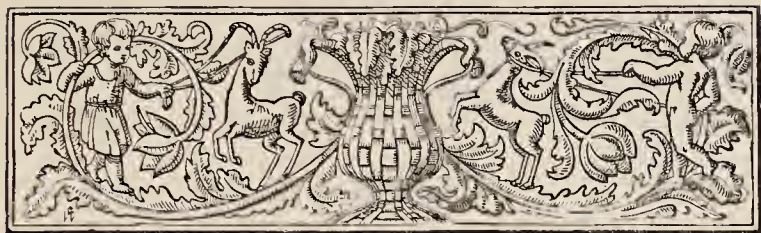
"In 1226 K. Henry III. again removed the coffin to a Chapel built for the purpose."





APPENDIX.





APPENDIX.

LIST OF MR. EVELYN'S PUBLICATIONS.

*From a Letter of his to Dr. Plot, dated 16 March,
1682-83.*

Translations.

I.



Of Liberty and Servitude, Lond. 1644, 12mo.

2. The French Gardener and English Vineyard,
1658, 12mo, 3d edit.

3. An Essay on the first Book of Lucretius,
1656, 8vo.

4. Gaspar Naudæus, Instructions concerning Libraries, 1661,
8vo.

5. A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern, with
a treatise on Statues, &c. 1664, fol.

6. An idea of the perfection of Painting, 1668, 8vo.

7. The Mysterie of Jesuitisme, 2 parts, 8vo.

8. St. Chrysostome's Golden Book for the Education of Chil-
dren, out of the Greeke, 1659, 12mo.

Original Works.

1. An Apologie for the Royal Party, 1659, 4to. Three Edi-
tions.

2. Panegyric at his Ma^{ties} Coronation, 1661, fol.

3. Fumifugium, or a prophetic Invective against the Fire and Smoke of London, wth its Remedies, 1661, 4to.

4. Sculptura, or the History of y^e Art of Calcography, 1662, 8vo.

5. Public Employ^m^t and an active life preferred to Solitude, 1667, 8vo.

6. Historie of the Three late Impostors, 1669, 8vo.

7. Kalendarium Hortense, 1664, 1679, 8vo. Six editions.

8. Sylva, 1679, fol. Three Editions.

9. Terra, 1679. Two Editions.

10. Tyrannus, or the Mode, 8vo.

The Dignity of Man, &c. not printed,	} neere ready.
Elysium Britannicum, not printed.	

Prepared for the Press.

A Discourse of Medals.—Of Manuscripts.—Of Stones.—Of Reason in Brute Animals.¹

In a letter to Dr. BEALE, 11 July, 1679, Mr. Evelyn says, “I have sometimes thought of publishing a Treatise of *Acetaria*, which (tho’ but one of the chapters of *Elysium Britannicum*) would make a competent volume, accompanied with other necessities, according to my manner; but whilst I as often think of performing my so long-since promis’d (more universal) Hortulan work, I know not how to take that chapter out, and single it for the presse, without some blemish to the rest. When again, I consider into what an ocean I am plung’d, how much I have written and collected for above these 20 yeares upon this fruitfull and inexhaustible subject (I mean Horticulture) not yet fully digested to my mind, and what insuperable paines it will require to insert the (daily increasing) particulars into what I have already in some measure prepared, and which must of necessitie be don by my owne hand, I am almost out of hope that I shall ever have

¹ Of the four Treatises here enumerated, the Discourse on Medals only has been printed. There is at Wotton a copy of that on Manuscripts in 13 leaves 4to, which seems to contain all he intended on this subject, and is given at the close of this Appendix. There is also a chapter of an essay, entitled, “*De Baculis*,” which from the proeme seems to have been intended as jocular, but it begins with great gravity.

strength and leasure to bring it to maturity, having for the last ten yeares of my life ben in perpetual motion, and hardly two moneths in a yeare at my owne habitation, or conversant with my family.

You know what my charge and care has ben during the late unhappy war with the Hollanders ; and what it has cost me as to avocations, and for the procuring monye, and attending the Lord Treasurer, &c. to discharge the quarters of many thousands.

Since that I have upon me no fewer than three executorships, besides other domestiq concernes, either of them enough to distract a more steady and composed genius than is mine.

Superadd to these the publiq confusions in church and kingdome (never to be sufficiently deplored), and which cannot but most sensibly touch every sober and honest man.

In the middst of these disturbances, who but Dr. Beale (that stands upon the toure, lookes down unconcernedly on all those tempests) can think of gardens and fish ponds, and the delices and ornaments of peace and tranquillity? With no little conflict and force on my other businesse, I have yet at last, and as I was able, published a third edition of my "*Sylva*," and with such additions as occurred ; and this in truth onely to pacifie the importunitie of very many (besides the printer) who quite tired me with calling on me for it, and above all, threatening to reprint it with all its former defects, if I did not speedily prevent it. I am onely vexed that it proving so popular as in so few yeares to passe so many impressions, and (as I heare) gratifie the avaricious printer with some hundreds of pounds ; there had not ben some course taken in it for the benefit of our Society. It is apparent that nere £500 has ben already gotten by it ; but we are not yet oeconomists.

You know what pillars we have lost : Palmer,¹ Moray,¹ Chester,² Oldenburg,³ &c. ; and thro' what other discouragements we still labour : and therefore you will excuse the zeale & fervor of what I have added in my Epistle to the Reader, if at length it be possible to raise vp some generous soule to free vs, or emerge out of our difficulties. In all euentz you will see where my inclinations are

¹ Dudley Palmer, Esq. born in 1602, and died in 1666, and Sir Robert Moray, Knt. who died July 4, 1673, two of the first Council of the Royal Society.

² John Wilkins, D.D. Bp. of Chester. He died Nov. 19, 1672.

³ Secretary to the Royal Society, who died in Sept. 1677.

fixt, & that love is stronger than death; and secular affaires, which is the burial of all philosophical speculations & improvements: tho' they can neuer in the least diminish the greate esteeme I haue of your friendship, and the infinite obligations I dayly receive from your fauors."

Of Books which he had designed to publish, we find the following Memoranda :

In a letter to Mr. BOYLE, 8 Aug. 1659, he says he had intended to write a History of Trades, but had given it up from the great difficulty he found in the attempt.

In another, 23d Nov. 1664, he says one Rhea [qu. Ray?] has published a very usefull book concerning the Culture of Flowers, but it does nothing reach my long-since attempted design on that intire subject, with all its ornaments and circumstances, but God only knows when my opportunities will permit me to bring it to maturity.

In the Preface to the *Acetaria*, published in 1699, he mentions a work in which he had spent upwards of 40 years, and his collections for which had in that time filled several thousand pages. The author of the *Biographia Britannica* believes that this was the work part of which he had shewed to his friends under the title of "*Elysium Britannicum*," but which in that Préface he calls "The Plan of a Royal Garden," &c. ; and that his *Acetaria*, and *Gardener's Kalendar*, were parts of it. This is confirmed by the preceding letter to Dr. Beale.

Amongst the MSS. at Wotton there are parts of Two volumes with the running title of "*Elysium Britannicum*," consisting of miscellaneous observations on a great variety of subjects, but nothing digested, except a printed sheet of the contents of the intended Work, as follows :

ELYSIUM BRITANNICUM

IN THREE BOOKS.

Præmissis præmittendis, &c.

BOOK I.

Chap. 1. A Garden derived and defined, with its distinctions and sorts.—2. Of a Gardiner, and how he is to be qualified.—3.

Of the Principles and Elements in generall.—4. Of the Fire.—5. Of the Air and Winds.—6. Of the Water.—7. Of the Earth.—8. Of the Celestial influences, particularly the Sun, and Moon, and of the Climates.—9. Of the four Seasons.—10. Of the Mould and Soil of a Garden.—11. Of Composts and Stercoration.—12. Of the Generation of Plants.

BOOK II.

Chap. 1. Of the Instruments belonging to a Gardiner, and their severall uses.—2. Of the situation of a Garden, with its extent.—3. Of fencing, enclosing, plotting, and disposing the Ground.—4. Of a Seminary, and of propagating Trees, Plants, and Flowers.—5. Of Knots, Parters, Compartiments, Bordures, and Embossements.—6. Of Walkes, Terraces, Carpets, and Allees, Bowling greens, Maills, their materials and proportions.—7. Of Groves, Labyrinths, Dædales, Cabinets, Cradles, Pavilions, Galleries, Close-walkes, and other Relievo's.—8. Of Transplanting.—9. Of Fountaines, Cascades, Rivulets, Piscinas, and Water-works.—10. Of Rocks, Grots, Cryptas, Mounts, Precipices, Porticos, Ventiducts.—11. Of Statues, Columns, Dyals, Perspectives, Pots, Vasas, and other ornaments.—12. Of Artificial Echos, Musick, and Hydraulick motions.—13. Of Aviaries, Apiaries, Vivaries, Insects.—14. Of Orangeries, and Conservatories of rare Plants.—15. Of Verdures, Perennial-greens, and perpetuall Springs.—16. Of Coronary Gardens, Flowers, and rare Plants, how they are to be propagated, govern'd, and improved; together with a Catalogue of the choycest Trees, Shrubs, Plants, and Flowers, and how the Gardiner is to keep his Register.—17. Of the Philosophico-Medical Garden.—18. Of a Vineyard.—19. Of Watering, Pruning, Clipping, Rolling, Weeding, &c.—20. Of the Enemies and Infirmities to which a Garden is obnoxious, together with the remedies.—21. Of the Gardiners Almanack, or Kalendarium Hortense, directing what he is to do Monethly, and what Flowers are in prime.

BOOK III.

Chap. 1. Of Conserving, Properating, Retarding, Multiplying, Transmuting, and altering the Species, Formes and substantial qualities of Flowers, &c.—2. Of Chaplets, Festoons, Flower-pots, Nose-gaies and Posies.—3. Of the Gardiners Elaboratory, and of

distilling and extracting of Essences, Resuscitation of Plants, with other rare Experiments.—4. Of composing the Hortus Hyemalis, and making books of Natural Arid Plants and Flowers, with other curious ways of preserving them in their Natural.—5. Of planting of Flowers, Flowers enamell'd, in Silk, Wax, and other artificial representations of them.—6. Of Hortulane Entertainments, to shew the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and use of a Garden Festival, &c.—7. Of the most famous Gardens in the World, Antient and Moderne.—8. The Description of a Villa.—The Corollarie and Conclusion.

Amongst the MSS. at Wotton also, on a separate paper, are the following Memoranda in Mr. Evelyn's handwriting :

“ Things I would write out faire and reform if I had leasure :—

Londinum Redivivum, w^{ch} I presented to the King 3 or 4 days after the Conflagration of that City, 1666.

Pedegree of the Evelyns.

The 3 remaining Meditations on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, being the remaining course of Offices ; to which belongs a Book of Recollection bound in leather.

A Rational Account of the True Religion, or an History of it. With a packet of Notes belonging to it.

Oeconomis to a Married Friend.

The Legend of the Pearle.

Some Letters of mine to Electra and to others in that packet.

The Life of Mrs. Godolphin.

A book of some Observations Politica's, and Discourses of y^t kind.

Thyrsander, a Tragy-Comedy.

Dignity of Mankind.

My owne Ephemeris or Diarie.

Animadversions upon Spinoso.

Papers concerning Education.

Mathematical papers.”

LIST OF MR. EVELYN'S WORKS.

1. Of Liberty & Servitude, 1649, 12mo.
2. A Character of England as it was lately presented in a Letter

to a Nobleman of France, with Reflections upon Gallus Castratus, 1651, 3d edit. 1659.

3. The State of France. London, 1652, 8vo.

4. An Essay on the first Book of Lucretius de Rerum Naturâ, interpreted and made into English Verse, 1656, 8vo. The frontispiece designed by his lady, Mary Evelyn.

5. The French Gardener, London, 1658, 12mo.—The 3^d edition in 1672, was illustrated with plates.—In most of the editions is added “The English Vineyard Vindicated, by John Rose, Gardener to K. Cha. II.”

6. The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children, London, 1659, 12mo.

7. An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a Letter to a person of the late Council of State: with a Touch at the pretended Plea of the Army. London, 1659, in 2 sheets, 4to. Three editions.

8. The late News from Brussels unmasked. London, 1660, 4to.

9. The manner of the Encounter between the French and Spanish Ambassadors at the landing of the Swedish Ambassador.

10. A Panegyrick at his Majesty K. Cha. II. his Coronation. London, 1661, folio.

11. Instructions concerning the erecting of a Library. Written by Gabriel Naudé, published in English with some Improvements by John Evelyn, Esq. London, 1661, 8vo.

12. Fumifugium; or the Inconveniencies of the Air & the Smoke of London dissipated. Together with some remedies humbly proposed by John Evelyn, Esq. Lond. 1661, 4to. in 5 sheets, addressed to the King and Parliament, and published by his Majesty's express command.¹

13. Tyrannus; or the Mode; in a Discourse of Sumptuary Laws, 1661, 8vo.

14. Sculptura; or the History and Art of Calcography & Engraving in Copper & Mezzo-tinto. Lond. 1662, 8vo.

15. Sylva; or a Discourse of Forest Trees. Lond. 1664, fol.; 2nd edition 1669; 3rd in 1697; 4th in 1733, also in folio.—Pomona is an Appendix; 3rd edition 1679; 4th 1706; 5th 1729.—This learned work has since been several times republished by Dr. A.

¹ Re-printed in 1772 in quarto, with an additional Preface.

Hunter, an eminent physician in York, who has rendered it still more valuable by adding to it the observations of later writers.

16. Parallel of Ancient & Modern Architecture. London, 1664, folio. 4th edit. 1733, fol. with the Elements of Architecture by Sir Hen. Wotton.

17. *Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας*; another part of the Mystery of Jesuitism. Lond. 1664, 8vo. Two Parts.

18. Kalendarium Hortense, Lond. 1664, 8vo.—The 2d and 3d edit. was in folio, bound with the Sylva and Pomona; also reprinted in octavo in 1699.

19. Public Employment and active life preferred to Solitude, in reply to Sir Geo. Mackenzie. Lond. 1667, 8vo.

20. History of the Three late famous Impostors. Lond. 1669, 8vo.

21. An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, translated from the French of Roland Freart. Lond. 1668, 8vo.

22. Navigation & Commerce, their Original and Progress. Lond. 1674, 8vo.

23. Terra: a Philosophical Discourse of Earth. Lond. 1675, fol. & 8vo. 1676.

24. Mundus Muliebris. Lond. 1690, 4to.

25. Mons^r de la Quintinye's Treatise of Orange Trees, & Complete Gardener, translated from the French. Lond. 1693, fol.

26. Numismata: a Discourse on Medals. London, 1697, fol.

27. Acetaria: a Discourse of Sallets. Lond. 1699, 8vo.

Mr. Evelyn had likewise etched, when he came to Paris from Italy, five several Prospects of places which he had drawn on the spot between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed also a frontispiece, intituled,

“Locorum aliquot insignium et celeberrimorum inter Romam & Neapolin jacentium, *ὑποδείξεις* et exemplaria.

“Domino Dom. Thomæ Hensheaw Anglo, omnium eximiarum et præclarissimarum artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo, et *συνοψάμενῳ αὐτῷ* (non propter operis pretium, sed ut singulare Amoris sui Testimonium exhibeat), primas has *ἀδοκιμασίας* aqua forti excusas et insculptas, Jo. Evelynus Delineator D. D. C. Q.”

R. Hoare excud.

I. Tres Tabernæ sive Appii Forum, celebre illud, in sacris Literis. Act. 28.

II. Terracini, olim Anxuris, Promontorium.

III. Prospectus versus Neapolin, a Monte Vesuvio.

IV. V. Montis Vesuvii Fauces: et Vorago, sive Barathrum internum.

He etched also a View of his own Seat at Wotton, then in the possession of his brother George Evelyn; which original etching forms one of the embellishments of these volumes.

Putney ad Ripam Tamesis—corrected on one impression, by himself, to Battersey.





EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.





EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

The following Letters are taken from Copies kept by Mr. Evelyn, and are given as Specimens of his Epistolary Correspondence. In those on serious subjects, there appears the most ardent piety: in those of friendship, the most sincere attachment and gratitude: in those to ladies, the most polite gallantry, expressed in easy language. In one to Mr. Thurland, a Barrister, whom he consulted in his legal affairs, he shews himself able to write with humour.

To my Lady Garret.



T had not ben now that the gratefull resentiments of y^r La^{ps} favour remained so long for a faire gale on this side, if the least opportunity had presented itselfe before the returne of this noble gentleman; and howeuer Fortune (who esteemed it too greate a favour for me) has otherwise disposed of the present which you sent me, I thinke myselfe to have received it as effectually in your La^{ps} designe and purpose, as if it were now glistening upon my finger. I am onely sorry, that because I missed that, I did not receiue y^r com'ands, and that an obligation of so much value seems to haue ben throwne away, whilst I remaine in another country uselesse to you. I will not say, that the way to find what is lost, is to fling another after it; but if any services of your La^p perished with that jewell, there can be no danger in re-inforcing your com'ands, and repairing the

greater losse, seeing there is nothing in the world which with more passion I pretend to, then to continue, Madame,

Your Ladyships, &c.

Paris, 9th Octob. 1651.

To Mr. Thurland.

(Since Sir Edward Thurland, and Baron of the Exchequer.)

S^r,

Nemo habet tam certam manum ut non sæpe fallatur; and yet I hope my memory shall serue me for the subscribing this epistle, which is more than yours (deare lawyer) could, it seemes, doe, when you sent me y^r sum'ons for my Court at Warley, with all those sigillary formalities of a perfect instrument. But this is a trifling *σφαλμα*; and I easily supplied it, by taking the boldnesse to write a new warrant in y^e most ill-favour'd character I could, that it might be the more like to y^r fayre hand; & so it was dispatch'd, onely the day altered to be the next before the Terme, since otherwise I could not haue appeared, and for which præsumption if you thinke fit to amerce me, I desire it may be by the delegation of Mr. Jo. Barton *pro Vicario*; since whilst I thus indulge my noble tennant, I may not neglect to reduce my vassalls, *cum ita suggerent Chartæ sicut optimè noveris*, &c. it being the advice of a greate philosopher, and part of my Litanie, *Libera te primum metu mortis (illa enim nobis primum jugum imponit), deinde paupertatis*: the first I endeavor to secure by Physick, the latter by y^r learned counsell, the effects whereoff I much more desire to resent by the favour w^{ch} (I am assured) you may do y^r servant in promoting his sin-



THOMAS J. F. 1685

gular inclynations for Albury,¹ in case (as I am confident it will) that seate be exposed to sale. I know you are potent, and may do much herein; and I shall eternally acknowledg to have derived from you all the favour and successe, which I augure to my selfe from y^r friendship and assistance: it being now in y^r power to fix a wanderer, oblige all my relations, and by one integral cause, render me yours for ever. I suppose the place will invite many candidates, but my money is good, and it will be the sole and greatest obligation that it shall ever be in y^r power to doe for, dear lawyer,

Your, &c.

Lond: 25: April, 1652.

To Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor.

The calamitie which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that 'till my returne, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very greate impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased God, that when I had prepared that sad newes, and deplore your restraint,² I was assured of y^r release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these tymes; yet if I have learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity, but the discourse of

¹ Albury, in Surrey, a seat of Mr. Howard. Mr. Thurland was one of the Trustees appointed for the sale of it.

² The cause of this imprisonment does not appear, unless it were for the sentiments contained in his "Twenty-five Sermons," published in the preceding winter—or perhaps upon political suspicion, as he actually suffered incarceration in Chepstowe Castle in 1656 (during his well-known controversy with Bishop Warner), being suspected as an instigator of the insurrection at Salisbury.

some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. I had read y^e Preface long since to y^r Golden Grove; remember, and infinitely justifie all that you haue there asserted. 'Tis true vallor to dare to be undon, and the consequent of Truth hath euer ben in danger of his teeth, and it is a blessing if men escape so in these dayes, when not the safties onely, but the soules of men are betrayed: whilst such as you, & such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendred criminal and suffer. But you, S^r, who haue furnished the world with so rare præcepts, against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoever, could neuer be destitute of those consolations, which you haue so charitably and so piously præscribed unto others. Yea rather, this has turned to our im'ense advantage, nor less to y^r glory, whilst men behold you living y^r own institutions, and preaching to us as effectually in y^r chaines as in the chaire, in the prison as in the pulpit; for me thinkes, S^r, I heare you pronounce it, as indeede you act it—

Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris et carcere dignum
Si vis esse aliquis —

that your example might shame such as betray any truth for feare of men, whose mission and com'ission is from God. You, S^r, know in the general, and I must justifie in particular with infinite cognition, the benefit I haue received from the truths you haue delivered. I haue perused that excellent *Unum necessarium* of yours to my very greate satisfaction and direction: and do not doubt but it shall in tyme gaine upon all those exceptions, which I know you are not ignorant appeare against it. 'Tis a great deale of courage, and a greate deale of perill, but to attempt the assault of an error so inveterate.

Αἱ δὲ κεινὰ κρίσεις τὸν ἀπέρατον ὁδόν. false opinion knows no bottome, and reason and præscription

meet in so few instances ; but certainly you greatly vindicate the diuine goodnesse, which the ignorance of men and popular mistakes haue so long charged with injustice. But, S^r, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruites you contend for : as it shall be my dayly devotions for your successe, who remaine,

Rev^d Sir, &c.

Says-Court, 9 Feb: 1654-5.

To Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor.

Rev^d Sir,

It was another extraordinary charity which you did me, when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger, by that which I just now received : and though the general persecution re-inforce ; yet it is y^r particular which most concernes me in this sad catalysis and declension of piety to which we are reduced. But, S^r, what is now to be don that the starrs of our once bright hemispheare are every where pulling from their orbs ? I remember where you haue sayd it was the harbinger of the greate day : and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend, the greate Oughtred,¹ did the other day seriously perswade me *parare in occursum*, and will needes haue the following yeares productiue of wonderfull and universal changes. What to say of that I know not ; but certaine it is, we are brought to a sad condition. I speake concerning secular yet religious persons ; whose glory it will onely be to lye buried in y^r ruines, a monument too illustrious for such as I am.

¹ William Oughtred, Rector of Albury, author of the "Clavis Mathematica," and other works, and the most illustrious geome-
trician of his time.

For my part, I haue learned from your excellent assistances, to humble myselfe, and to adore the inscrutable pathes of the Most High. God and his truth are still the same though the foundations of the world be shaken. Julianus Redivivus can shut the schooles indeede & the temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the breast is the chapell, and our heart is the altar. Obedience founded in the understanding will be the onely cure and retraite. God will accept what remains, & supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals, the purest ages passed under the cruelest persecutions: it is sometimes necessary; & this and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of greate advantage (even whilst they presse, and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandaliz'd; so are there diuers well disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselues, unlesse some such good men as you discover the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, & steere their course in this darke and uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, and that all the exercise of your functions is made criminal, that the light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the viaticum with safety? How shall we be baptiz'd? For to this passe it is come, S^r. The comfort is, the captivity had no temple, no altar no king. But did they not obserue the passover, nor circumcise? had they no priests & prophets amongst them? Many are weake in the faith, and know not how to answer, nor whither to fly: and if upon the apotheosis of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his martyrdome, engrauen in copper, & sent me by a

friend from Bruxelles, the jesuite could so bitterly sarcasme upon the embleme—

Projicis inventum caput, Anglia (Angla?) Ecclesia ! cæsum
Si caput est, saluum corpus an esse potest?—

how thinke you will they now insult, ravage, and breake in upon the flock; for the shepheards are smitten, and the sheepe must of necessity be scattered, unlesse the greate Shepheard of Soules oppose, or some of his delegates reduce and direct us. Deare Sir, we are now preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten) of God's service in this Citty, or any where else in publike. I must confesse it is a sad consideration; but it is what God sees best, & to what we must submitt. The comfort is, *Deus providebit*. S^r, I have not yet been so happy as to see those papers which Mr. Royston tells me are printing, but I greatly rejoyce that you haue so happily fortified that batterie; and I doubt not but you will maintaine the seige: for you must not be discouraged for the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me where euer I find it, much more where it conduces to a designe so salutary & necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by y^r arguments, can possibly resist y^r charity, & y^r modesty; but as you haue greatly subdued my education in that particular, and controversy; so am I confident tyme will render you many more protestantes. And if all do not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must with y^r accustomed patience attend the event.

S^r, I beseech God to conduct all y^r labours, those of religion to others, and of loue and affection to me, who remayne,

S^r, your, &c.

Lond: 18 Mar:¹ 1655.

¹ Query May? It appears by his Diary that Evelyn had attended Taylor's preaching on that day. The devout laity of the

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn, Esq.

Honourd and Deare S^r,

Not long after my comming from my prison (Chepstow) I mett with your kind & freindly letters, of which I was very glad, not onely because they were a testimony of your kindnesse & affections to mee, but that they gave mee most welcome account of your health, and (which now adayes is a great matter) of your liberty, and of that progression in piety in which I doe really rejoyce. But there could not be given to mee a greater & more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety & care then that you passe to greater degrees of caution & the love of God. It is the worke of your life, & I perceive you betake your selfe heartily to it. The God of heaven & earth prosper you & accept you!

I am well pleased that you haue read over my last booke; and give God thanks that I have reason to beleive that it is accepted by God, and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their owne reproovers; and truth will be assisted by God, & shall prevaile, when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honour to be the advocate for God's justice & goodnesse, and that y^e consequent of my doctrine is that men may speake honour of God and meanly of themselves. But I have also this last weeke sent up some papers in which I make it appeare that the

Episcopal Church were, therefore, not at that time deprived of the means of grace in the manner which this letter deplores. Nor does it seem likely that a letter of such a length, and written in such a manner, would be addressed to a person with whom the writer expected shortly to communicate personally, or with whom he had a few hours before communicated. I am, therefore, of opinion that we should not read March but May, by which time it is extremely probable that Taylor's imprisonment at Chepstow may have commenced.—Bp. Heber's *Life of Jeremy Taylor*.

doctrine which I now haue published was taught by the fathers within the first 400 years ; and haue vindicated it both from novelty & singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, & now further explicated & justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious & prudent persons, who doe not love to goe *quà itur* but *quà eundum est*. S^r, you see what a good husband I am of my paper and inke, that I make so short returnes to your most friendly letters. I pray be confident that if there be any defect here, I will make it up in my prayers for you & my great esteeme of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readinesse to serve you with all the earnestnesse and powers of,

Deare S^r,

Your most affectionate freind & servant

JER. TAYLOR.

Novemb: 21, 1665.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

St. Paul's Convers: [25 Jan.] 5⁵/₈ (1656).

Deare S^r,

I perceive by your symptomes, how the spirits of pious men are affected in this sad catalysis : it is an evil time, and we ought not to hold our peace : but now the question is, who shall speake ? Yet I am highly persuaded, that, to good men and wise, a persecution is nothing but changing the circumstances of religion, and the manner of the formes and appendages of divine worship. Publick or private is all one : the first hath the advantage of society, the second of love. There is a warmth and light in that : there is heate and zeale in this : and if every person that can, will but consider concerning the essentials of

religion, and retaine them severely, and immure them as well as he can with the same or æquivalent ceremonies, I know no difference in the thing, but that he shall have the exercise, and consequently the reward of other graces, for which if he lives and dies in prosperous dayes, he shall never be crown'd. But the evils are, that some will be tempted to quit their present religion, and some to take a worse, and some to take none at all. It is true and a sad story; but *oportet esse hæreses*, for so they that are faithful shall be knowne: and I am sure that He who hath promised to bring good out of evil, and that all things shall co-operate to the good of them that feare God, will verify it concerning persecution. But concerning a discourse upon the present state of things in relation to soules and our present duty, I agree with you, that it is very fitt it were done, but yet, by somebody who is in London and sees the personal necessities and circumstances of pious people: yet I was so far persuaded to do it myselfe, that I had amassed together divers of my papers useful to the worke: but my Cases of Conscience call upon me so earnestly, that I found myselfe not able to beare the cries of a clamorous conference. S^r, I thank you for imparting to me that vile distich of the deere departed saint. I value it as I doe the picture of deformity or a devil: the act may be good, and the gift faire, though the thing be intolerable; but I remember, that when the Jesuites, sneering and deriding our calamity, shewed this sarcasm to my Lord Lucas, Birkenhead¹ being present, replied as tartly, "it is true, our Church wants a head now; but if you have charity as you pretend, you can lend us one, for your Church has had two and three at a time." S^r, I know not when I shall be able to come to London: for our being strip'd of the litle reliques

¹ Probably John Birkenhead, author of the "Mercurius Aulicus."

of our fortune remaining after y^e shipwracke, have not cordage nor sailes sufficient to beare me thither. But I hope to be able to commit to the presse my first bookes of Conscience by Easter terme; and then if I be able to get up, I shall be glad to wayte upon you: of whose good I am not more sollicitous then I am joyful that you so carefully provide for it in your best interest.¹ I shall onely give you the same prayer and blessing that St. John gave to Gaius: "Beloved, I wish that you may be in health and prosper:" and your soule prospers: for so by the rules of the best rhetorick the greatest affaire is put into a parenthesis, and the biggest buisnesse into a postscript. S^r, I thanke you for the kind expressions at the latter end of your letter; you have neuer troubled mee, neither can I pretend to any other returne from you but that of your love and prayers. In all things else I doe but my duty, and I hope God and you will accept it; and that by meanes of His owne procurement, He will, some way or other (but how I know not yet) make provisions for mee. S^r, I am in all heartinesse of affection,

Your most affectionate freind and
minister in the Lord Jesus,

JER. TAYLOR.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

April 16, 1656.

Honour'd & Deare S^r,

I hope your servant brought my apology with him, & that I already am pardon'd, or excus'd in your

¹ From whatever quarter he obtained the means of his journey, it is certain, however, that Dr. Taylor visited London; for on the 12th of April, 1656, as appears by the Diary, he dined with Evelyn at Sayes Court, in company with Mr. Berkeley, Mr. Rob. Boyle, and Dr. Wilkins, and occupied with them in the discussion and examination of philosophical and mechanical subjects.

thoughts, that I did not returne an answer yesterday to your freindly letter. S^r, I did beleive my selfe so very much bound to you for your so kind, so freindly reception of mee in your "Tusculanum," that I had some little wonder upon mee when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. S^r, I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, & found all your circumstances to be an heape & union of blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy & opinion of the prettinesse of your aboad, or so low an opinion of your prudence & piety, as to thinke you can be any wayes transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one moneths possession; & that strangers & seldome seers feel the beauty of them more then you who dwell with them. I am pleased indeed at the order & the cleannesse of all your outward things; and look upon you not onely as a person, by way of thankfulnesse to God for His mercies & goodnesse to you, specially obliged to a greater measure of piety, but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares & impediments, can without excuse & allay wholly intend what you so passionately desire, the service of God. But now I am considering yours, & enumerating my owne pleasures, I cannot but adde that, though I could not choose but be delighted by seeing all about you, yet my delices were really in seeing you severe & unconcerned in these things, and now in finding your affections wholly a stranger to them, & to communicate with them no portion of your passion but such as is necessary to him that uses them or receives their ministeries. S^r, I long truly to converse with you; for I doe not doubt but in those liberties wee shall both goe bettered from each other. For your "Lucretius,"¹ I

¹ Mr. Evelyn translated, or at least published, only one book of Lucretius, which was the first, printed in octavo, at London, 1656;

perceive you have suffer'd the importunity of your too kind friends to prevaile with you. I will not say to you that your Lucretius is as far distant from the severity of a Christian as the faire Ethiopian was from the duty of Bp. Heliodorus; for indeed it is nothing but what may become the labours of a Christian gentleman, those things onely abated which our evil age needes not; for which also I hope you either have by notes or will by preface prepare a sufficient antidote; but since you are ingag'd in it, doe not neglect to adorne it & take what care of it it can require or neede; for that neglect will be a reproofe of your owne act, & looke as if you did it with an unsatisfied mind, & then you may make that to be wholly a sin, from which onely by prudence & charity you could before be advised to abstaine. But, S^r, if you will give me leave, I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of Lucretius as shall neither displease God nor you; &, since you are buisy in that which may minister directly to learning, & indirectly to error or the confidences of men, who of themselves are apt enough to hide their vices in irreligion, I know you will be willing & will suffer your selfe to be intreated to imploy the same pen in the glorifications of God, & the ministeries of eucharist & prayer. S^r, if you have M^{sr} Silhon "*de l'Immortalité de l'Ame*," I desire you to lend it mee for a weeke, and beleive that I am in great heartinesse & dearenesse of affection,

Deare S^r, your obliged & most affectionate
freind and servant,

J. TAYLOR.

with an engraved frontispiece, designed by his accomplished Wife,
and engraved by Hollar.

To Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

(Since Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland.)

Nothing but an affaire very greate and of consequence could stay me thus long from rendering you a personal acknowledgme^{nt} for y^r late kind visite, and I trouble you with this because I feare I shall not be able to performe *that* 'till the latter end of the weeke; but I shall, after this buisnesse is over (which concerns an accou^{nt}t with a kinsman of mine), importune you with frequent visits, and, I hope, prevaile with you that I may haue the honour to see you againe at my poor villa, when my respects are lesse diverted, and that I may treate you without ceremonie or constraint. For it were fitting you did see how I live when I am by my selfe, who cannot but pronounce me guilty of many vanities, deprehending me (as you did) at a tyme when I was to gratifie so many curious persons, to whom I had ben greatly obliged, and for whom I have much vallue. I suppose you thinke me very happy in these outward things; realy, I take so little satissfaction in them, that the censure of singularity would no way affright me from embracing an hermitage, if I found that they did in the least distract my thoughts from better things; or that I did not take more pleasure and incomparable felicity in that intercourse which it pleases God to permit me, in vouchsafing so unworthy a person to prostrate himselfe before Him, and contemplate His goodnesse. These are indeede gay things, & men esteeme me happy; *Ego autem, peccatorum sordibus inquinatus, diebus ac noctibus opperior cum timore reddere novissimum quadrantem*: Whilst that accou^{nt}t is in suspence, who can truely enjoy any thing in this life *sine verme*? *Omnia enim tuta timeo*: My condition is too well; and I do as often wonder at it,

as suspect & feare it: and yet I thinke I am not to do any rash or indiscreete action, to make the world take notice of my singularity: though I do with all my heart wish for more solitude, who was euer most auerse from being neere a greate citty, designed against it, and yet it was my fortune to pitch here, more out of necessity, and for the benefit of others, then choyce, or the least inclynation of my owne. But, S^r, I will trouble you no farther with these trifles, though as to my confessor I speake them. There are yet more behind. My Essay upon Lucretius, which I told you was engaged, is now printing, and (as I understand) neere finished: my animadversions upon it will I hope prouide against all the ill consequences, and totaly acquit me either of glory or impiety. The captiue woman was in the old law to haue ben head-shauen, and her excræscencies pared off, before she was brought as a bride to the bed of her lord. I hope I haue so done with this author, as far as I have penetrated, and for the rest I shall proceede with caution, and take y^r counsell. But, S^r, I detaine you too long, though with promises to render you a better account hereafter, both of my tyme and my studies, when I shall haue beged of you to impose some taske upon me, that may be usefull to the greate designe of virtue and a holy life, who am,

S^r, y^r &c.

Says-Court, 27 Apr: 1656.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

July 19, 1656.

Deare Sir,

I perceiue the greatnesse of y^r affections by your diligence to enquire after & to make use of any opportunity which is offered whereby you may oblige mee. Truly, Sir, I doe continue in my desires to

settle about London, & am only hindered by my *Res angusta domi*; but hope in God's goodnesse that He will create to me such advantage as may make it possible: and, when I am there, I shall expect the daily issues of the Divine Providence to make all things else well: because I am much persuaded that, by my abode in y^e voisinage of London, I may receive advantages of society & bookes to enable mee better to serve God & the interest of soules. I have no other designe but it; and I hope God will second it with his blessing. S^r, I desire you to present my thanks & service to Mr. Thurland:¹ his society were argument enough to make mee desire a dwelling thereabouts, but his other kindnesses will also make it possible. I would not be troublesome: serviceable I would faine be, useful, and desireable: and I will endeavour it if I come. S^r, I shall, besides what I have already said to you, at present make no other returne to M^r Thurland, till a little thing of mine be publicke, which is now in Royston's² hands, of Original Sin: the evils of which doctrine I have now laid especially at y^e Presbyterian doore, and discours'd it accordingly, in a missive to y^e Countesse Dowager of Devonshire. When that is abroad, I meane to present one to Mr. Thurland; and send a letter with it. I thanke you for your Lucretius. I wished it with mee sooner: for, in my letter to y^e Countesse of Devonshire, I quote some things out of Lucretius, w^{ch} for her sake I was forc'd to English in very bad verse, because I had not your version by mee to

¹ Mr. afterwards Sir Edward Thurland, and one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was an eminent lawyer, and author of a work on Prayer; on which Evelyn sent him a letter. See p. 228.

² Richard Royston was bookseller to three Kings, and lived at the Angel in Ivy-lane. He held a patent for printing all the works of K. Charles I. and became Master of the Stationers' Company in 1673 and 1674. He died in 1686, in the 86th year of his age, and was buried in the south aisle of Christ Church, Newgate-street.

make use of it. Royston hath not yet sent it me downe, but I have sent for it : and though it be no kindnesse to you to reade it for its owne sake, and for the worthinesse of the worke; because it deserves more; yet, when I tell you that I shall, besides the worth of the thing, value it for the worthy author's sake, I intend to represent to you, not onely the esteeme I have of your worthinesse, but the love also I doe and ever shall beare to y^r person. Deare S^r, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad: but now he rejoyces in his little orbe, while wee thinke, & sigh, and long to be as safe as he is. S^r, when your Lucretius comes into my hands, I shall be able to give you a better account of it. In the meane time I pray for blessings to you & your deare and excellent lady: and am,

Deare S^r,

Your most affectionate and endeared
friend & servant,

JER: TAYLOR.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Honour'd & Deare S^r,

In the midst of all the discouragements which I meet with all in an ignorant & obstinate age, it is a great comfort to mee, & I receive new degrees of confidence, when I find that your selfe, and such other ingenious & learned persons as your selfe, are not onely patient of truth, and love it better then prejudice & prepossession, but are so ingenuous as to dare to owne it in despite of the contradictory voices of error & unjust partiality. I have lately received from a learned person beyond sea, certaine extracts of the Easterne & Southern Antiquities, which very

much confirme my opinion and doctrine : for the learned man was pleased to expresse great pleasure in the reasonablenesse of it, & my discourses concerning it. S^r, I could not but smile at my owne weakenesses, & very much love the great candor & sweetnesse of your nature that you were pleas'd to endure my English poetry : but I could not bee removed from my certaine knowledge of my owne greatest weakenesses in it. But if I could have had your Lucretius when I had occasion to use those extractions out of it, I should never have ask'd any man's pardon for my weake version of them : for I would have us'd none but yours : & then I had been beyond censure, & could not have needed a pardon. But, S^r, the last papers of mine have a fate like your Lucretius ;—I meane so many erratas made by the printers, that, because I had not any confidence by the matter of my discourse & the well handling it, as you had by the happy reddition of your Lucretius, I have reason to beg your pardon for the imperfection of the copy : but I hope the printer will make amends in my Rule of Conscience, which I find hitherto he does with more care. But, S^r, give me leave to aske, why you will suffer your selfe to be discouraged in the finishing Lucretius : they who can receive hurt by the fourth booke, understand the Latine of it ; and I hope they who will be delighted with your English, will also be secur'd by your learned & pious annotations, which I am sure you will give us along with your rich version. S^r, I humbly desire my services and great regards to be presented by you to worthy Mr. Thurland : and that you will not faile to remember me when you are upon your knees. I am very desirous to receive the *Dies iræ*, *Dies illa*, of your translation ; and if you have not yet found it, upon notice of it from you I will transmit a copy of it. S^r, I pray God continue your health & his bless-

ings to you & y^r deare lady & pretty babies : for which I am daily obliged to pray, and to use all opportunities by which I can signify that I am,

Deare S^r,

Your most affectionate & endeared servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

9^{ber} 15, 1656.

[Evelyn has written on this letter in pencil : "I would be none of y^e *Ingeniosi malo publico*."]]

*To my Brother G. Evelyn.*¹

Says-Court, 15 Decemb. 1656.

Deare Bro:

I am so deeply sensible of the affliction which presses you, that I cannot forbear to let you understand how greate a share I have in the losse, and how reciprocal it is to us. For y^r part, I consider that your sex and your knowledge do better fortifie you against the com'on calamities and vicissitudes of these sublunary things : so that precepts to you were but impertinencys : though I also find, that the physitian himselfe has some tymes neede of the physitian ; and that to condole and to counsell those who want nothing to support them but their owne virtue, is to relieue them of a considerable part of their affliction : But the feare which I haue that the tendernesse of so indulgent a mother's affection (as is that of my deare lady) may insensibly transgresse its bounds, to so huge a prejudice as we should all receive by it, (if her im'oderate griefe should continue) makes me choose rather, being absent, to contribute what aydes I can towards its remedy, then, being present, to renew her sorrows by such expressions of resentment as of course use to fall from friends,

¹ On the death of his son Richard.

but can add little to the cure, because but compliment. Nor do I hereby extenuate her prudence, whose virtue is able to oppose the rudest assaults of fortune; but present my arguments as an instance of my care, not of my diffidence. I confesse there is cause of sadnesse: but all who are not stoicks know by experience, that in these lugubrious encounters our affections do sometymes outrun our reason. Nature herselfe has assigned places and instruments to the passions: and it were as well impiety as stupidity to be totaly *ἀσφόργος* and without natural affection: but we must remember withall that we grieve not as persons without hope: least, while we sacrifice to our passions, we be found to offend against God, and by indulging an over kind nature redouble the losse, & loose our recompence. Children are such blossomes as every trifling wind deflowres, and to be disordered at their fall, were to be fond of certaine troubles, but the most uncertaine comforts; whilst the store of the more mature which God has yet left you, invite both your resignation and y^r gratitude. So extraordinary prosperity as you have hitherto ben encircled with, was indeede to be suspected; nor may he thinke to beare all his sailes, whose vessell (like yours) has been driven by the highest gale of felicity. We give hostages to Fortune when we bring children into the world: and how unstable this is we know, & must therefore hazard the adventure. God has suffer'd this for y^r exercise: seeke then as well your consolation in his rod, as in his staff. Are you offended that it has pleased Him to snatch y^r pretty babes from the infinite contingencies of so perverse an age, in which there is so little temptation to live? At least consider, that your pledges are but gon a little before you: and that a part of you has taken possession of the inheritance which you must one day enter, if ever you

will be happy. Brother, when I reflect on the losse as it concernes our family in general, I could recall my owne, and mingle my teares with you (for I have also lost some very deare to me); but when I consider the necessity of submitting to the divine arests, I am ready to dry them againe and be silent. There is nothing of us perished; but deposited: And say not they might haue come later to their destiny: *Magna est felicitas, citò esse felicem*: 'tis no small happynesse to be happy quickly. That which may fortune to all, we ought not to accuse for a few: and it is but reason to support that patiently, which cannot be prevented possibly. But I haue now don with the philosopher, and will dismissee you with the divine. "Brother, be not ignorant concerning them which are asleepe, that, you sorrow not euen as others which haue no hope: for, if we belieue that Jesus died and rose againe, euen so them also which sleepe in Jesus will God bring with him." They are the words of St. Paul, and I can add nothing to them. In the meane tyme auxiliaries against this enemy cannot render it the more formidable: and though all griefe of this nature haue a just rise, yet may it end in a dangerous fall: our deare Mother is a sad instance of it: and I conjure you to use all the art, and all the interest you are able, to compose your selfe, & console y^r excellent lady, which (after I haue presented my particular resentiments) is what I would haue hereby assisted you in, who am,

Dear Brother, &c.

Et consolamini alij alios istis sermonibus.

From Mr. Barlow,¹ a Painter, on dedicating a Plate of Titian's Venus, engraven, to Mr. Evelyn.

Worthy S^r,

I haue beene boold to present you with a small peece of my endeavours. I hope your goodnes will pardon my confidence in that I have presumed to dedicate it vnto you, conceaving no one to be more woorthy, or to whom I am more obliged for those sivill favours I have receaved from you. It may seeme strange that I owne that an others name is to, but my occasions not permitting me so much spare time to finish it, Mr. Gaywood my freind did, which [who] desyeres his name might be to it for his advantage in his practice, soe I consented to it. The drawing after the originall paynting I did, and the drawing and outlines of this plate: I finished the heads of both the figures, and the hands and feet, and likewise the doge and the landskape. As eaching [etching] is not my profeshion, I hope you will not exspect much from me. S^r, if you shall be pleased to honner my weake (yet willing) endeavours with your exseption, I shall ever rest obliged for this and former favours.

Your servant to coommand,

FRANCIS BARLOW.

From the Black-boy over agaynst St. Dunstan's,
Fleat-street, this 22d of December, 1656.

¹ He was a native of Lincolnshire, and placed under Sheppard, a portrait-painter; but his genius led him to design after nature every species of animals, which he drew with great exactness; though his colouring was not equal to his designs. There are six books of Animals engraven from his drawings, and a set of cuts for Æsop's Fables. Some cielings of birds he painted for noblemen and gentlemen in the country: and at Clandon, in Surrey, the seat of Lord Onslow, are five pieces from his pencil. He died in 1702. Walpole's Anecdotes.

From Mr. Evelyn to Mr. Barlow, in reply.

S^r,

I had no opportunity by the hand which convey'd it to returne you my acknowledgments for the present you lately sent me, and the honour which you haue conferred upon me, in no respect meriting either so greate a testimony of y^r affection, or the glorious inscription, which might better haue become some greate and eminent Mæcenas to patronise, then a person so incompetent as you haue made choyce of. If I had ben acquainted with your designe, you should on my advice have nuncupated this handsome monument of your skill and dexterity to some great one, whose relation might have ben more considerable, both as to the encouragement and the honour which you deserve. From me you can onely expect a reinforcement of that vallue and good esteeme which before y^r merites had justly acquired, and would haue perpetuated: of another you had purchased a new friend; nor lesse obliged the old, because lesse exposed him to envy; since by this you ascribe so much to me, that those who know me better, will on the one side be ready to censure your judgment, and on the other you put me out of all capacity of making you requitall. But since your affection has vanquish'd y^r reason so much to my advantage, though I wish the election were to make, yet I cannot but be very sensible of the signal honour, and the obligation which you haue put upon me. I should now extoll your courage in pursuing so noble an original, executed with so much judgment and art: but I forbear to provoke y^r modesty, and shall in the meane tyme that I can giue you personal thanks, receiue your present as an instance of your great civility, and a memorial of my no lesse obligation to you, who remaine, S^r,

Your, &c.

Says-Court, 23 Decemb. 1656.

To Mr. Maddox.

(In behalfe of Dr. Needham, to assist him on the Charge of his com'encement at Camb.)

S^r,

I perceive by the successe of my letter, & your most civil reply, that I was not mistaken when I thought so nobly of you, and spake those little things neither in diffidence of your bounty or to instruct it, but to give you notice when it would arrive most seasonably, and because I found the modesty of the person might injure his fortune, as well as the greatnesse of your kindnesse.—You are pleased to inform me of your course, and I cannot but infinitely approve of your motions, because I find they are designed to places in order to things of greater advantage then the vanity of the eye onely, which to other travellers has usually ben the temptation of making tours. For at Marseilles and Toulon you will informe y^r selfe of the strength and furniture of the French on the Mediterranean Seas: you will see the gallys, the slaves, and in fine, a very map of the Levant; for should you trauell as far as Constantinople it selfe, or to the bottome of the Straites, you would find but still the same thing: and the maritime townes of Italy are no other. Nismes dos so much abound with antiquities, that the difference 'twixt it and Rome is, that I thinke the latter has very few things more worth the visiting: and therefore it may as well present you with an idea of that greate city, as if you were an ocular spectator of it: for it is a perfect epitome of it. Montpellier is the next in order, where I suppose you will make some longer stay; because there are schollars and students, and many rarities about it. There is one Peter Borell, a physitian, who hath lately published “Centuries Historical and

Medico-Physical." Montpelier was wont to be a place of rare opportunitie for the learning the many excellent receipts to make perfumes, sweete pouders, pomanders, antidots, and divers such curiosities, which I know you will not omitt; for though they are indeede but trifles in comparison of more solid things, yet, if ever you should affect to live a retired life hereafter, you will take more pleasure in those recreations then you can now imagine. And really gentlemen despising those vulgar things, deprive themselves of many advantages to improve their tyme, and do service to the desiderats of philosophy, which is the onely part of learning best illustrated by experiments, and, after the study of religion, certainly the most noble and virtuous. Every body hath book-learning, which verily is of much ostentation, but of small fruit unlesse this also be super-added to it. I therefore conjure you that you do not lett passe what ever offers itselfe to you in this nature, from whomsoever they come. Com'only indeede persons of meane condition possesse them, because their necessity renders them industrious: but if men of qualitie made it their delight also, arts could not but receive infinite advantages, because they haue both meanes and leisure to improue & cultivate them: and, as I sayd before, there is nothing by which a good man may more sweetely passe his tyme. Such a person I look upon as a breathing treasure, a blessing to his friends, and an incomparable ornament to his country.—This is to you the true seede-tyme, and wherein the foundations of all noble things must be layed. Make it not the field of repentance: for what can be more glorious then to be ignorant of nothing but of vice, which indeede has no solid existence, and therefore is nothing? Seeke therefore after nature, and contemplate that greate volume of the creatures whilst you have no other

distractions: procure to see experiments, furnish your selfe with receipts, models, and things which are rare. In fine, neglect nothing, that at your returne, you may bring home other things then talke, feather, & ribbon, the ordinary traffiq of vaine and fantastiq persons.— I must believe that when you are in those parts of France you will not passe Beaugensier¹ without a visit; for certainly, though the curiosities may be much dispersed since the tyme of the most noble Peireskius, yet the very genius of that place cannot but infuse admirable thoughts into you. But I suppose you carry the Life of that illustrious & incomparable virtuoso always about you in your motions; not onely because it is so portable, but for that it is written in such excellent language by the pen of the greate Gassendus, and will be a fit Itinerary with you. When you returne to Paris againe, it will be good to refresh your gymnastiq exercises, to frequent the Court, the Barr, and the Schooles sometymes; but aboue all, procure acquaintances and settle a correspondence with learned men, by whom there are so many advantages to be made & experiments gotten. And I beseeche you forget not to inform your selfe as diligently as may be, in things that belong to garden- ing, for that will serue both your selfe and your friends for an infinite diversion: and so will you haue nothing to add to your accomplishment when you come home, but to looke over the municipal lawes of your owne country, which your interest and your necessities will prompt you to: and then you may sweetely passe the rest of your dayes in reaping the harvest of all your paines, either by seruing your country in some public employment (if the integrity of the tymes invite you), or by securing y^r own

¹ Belgenser, or Beaugensier, a town near Toulon, the birth-place of the celebrated Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius, Lord of Peiresk, Senator of the Parliament at Aix.

felicity, and indeede the greatest upon earth, in a private unenvied condition, with those advantages which you will bring it of piety and knowledge. Oh the delice and reward of thus employing our youth ! What a beauty and satisfaction to haue spent ones youth innocently and virtuously ! What a calme & serenity to the mind ! What a glory to y^r country, to y^r friends, and contentment to your instructors : in sum'e, how greate a recompence & advantage to all your concernements ! And all this, Sir, I foresee and augure of Mr. Maddox, of whom may this be the least portion of his panegyriq ; whilst it serues me onely to testifie how greate a part I take in all your prosperity, and how greate an honour I shall euer esteeme it to be accounted,

Sir, your, &c.

Says-Court, 10 Jan. 1657.

To the Lieutenant of the Tower.¹

S^r,

I should begin with the greater apologie for this addresse, did not the consideration of the nature of y^r greate employment and my feares to importune them carry with them an excuse which I haue hope to believe you will easily admitt. But, as it is an errour to be troublesome to greate persons upon trifling affaires, so were it no lesse a crime to be silent in an occasion wherein I may do an act of charity, and reconcile a person to your good opinion, who has deserved so well, and I thinke is so innocent. Sir, I speake in behalfe of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure

¹ "This was written for another gentleman, an acquaintance with the *villain* who was now Lieut. of y^e Tower, Baxter by name, for I never had the least knowledg of him."

for the mistake of his printer;¹ and the readiest way that I can thinke of to do him honour & bring him into esteeme with you, is, to beg of you, that you will please to giue him leaue to waite upon you, that you may learne from his owne mouth, as well as the world has done from his writings, how averse he is from any thing that he may be charged withall to his prejudice, and how greate an adversary he has euer bin in particular to the Popish religion, against which he has employed his pen so signally, and with such succeſſe. And when by this favour you shall haue don justice to all interests, I am not without faire hopes, that I shall have mutually obliged you both, by doing my endeavour to serve my worthy and pious friend, and by bringing so innocent and deserving a person into your protection; who am, S^r, &c.

From Greenwich, 14 Jan. 1656-57.

To Mr. E. Thurland, afterwards Sir Edward Thurland, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and an eminent Lawyer.

Sir,

I have read y^r learned Diatriba concerning Prayer, & do exceedingly prayse your method, nor lesse admire y^r learning and reason, which by so rare an artifice has made notions that are very difficult & abstracted in themselves, so apt and perspicuous: besides, y^r arguments are drawne from the most irresistible and convincing topicks, and the designe not onely full of learning, but usefull also to a good life, which is indeede the right application of it. S^r, I am so much taken with your piece, and thinke it

¹ Dr. Jeremy Taylor had been committed prisoner to the Tower, for setting the picture of Christ praying before his collection of Offices, contrary to a new Act concerning scandalous pictures as they called them.

so excellent a homily against that abounding ingredient now in the world, that I presume you shall not neede my perswasions to induce you to make it publique; being a thing which may so greatly contribute to the cure of that epidemical madnesse, and the vindication of God's glory: since w^t Trismegistus so long tyme sayd is most true in our age, Ἡ μεγάλη νόσος τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ ἀθεότης, and Silius Italicus has interpreted with a complaint:

“Heu primæ scelerum caussæ mortalibus ægris,
Naturam nescire Deum!”——

But because you have not onely don me the honour to com'unicate so freely y^r thoughts to me: but have also lay'd y^r com'ands that I should returne you my opinion of it; truely, I should both greatly injure the intrinsiq value of the worke, as well as my greate esteeme of the author, if I should say lesse then I have don: so that, if I am bold or impertinent in what followes, it will serve onely to make you the more admire y^r owne, when y^u shall find how little can be added to it. And you must onely blame the liberty you have given me, if my silence would have become more acceptable.

First then y^r distribution is most methodical and logical; the minor produced to assert the thesis very closely and skillfully handled; but, because your conclusion comes in so long after, whither it may not a little πλεοναζειν, considering that your argument is prayer, I would therefore at the end of some of those chapters, (before you arrive at the maine assumption,) upon enumeration of the former syllogismes, mention something of it (by way of enumeration) that so the thoughts of your reader might not stray from the subject, which is to enforce the necessity of prayer: or else alter the title, and make it comprehensive of both the parts, as of God, and of prayer,

or something equivalent. I doe greatly approve the reasons you have given for that long digression, to convince those who doubted, Democritus, Leucippus, Diogenes, Epicurus, and the late Pseudopoliticks, with those who faintly assented, as Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoicks, Polititians, and Legislators: but I suppose that, since Sextus Empiricus was but a diligent collector of the placits and opinions of other philosophers, you shall do more honour to your book by omitting the so frequent citing of him: it will sufficiently gratifie the reader to see his scruples satisfied, and their errors convinced, without so particular an account whether you deduced the opinions from the fountaine or from the streame. And therefore you shall better cite Diogenes Laertius or Cicero then Campanella, for that passage concerning the qualities of atomes: and it is more proper to alledge Basil de legendis Ethnicorum scriptis, Augustin de Doctrinâ Christianâ, or Socrates Scholasticus, to prove the lawfullnesse and benefit of asserting your opinions by examples out of heathen poets, &c. then S^r W. Raleigh's History of the World, who was but of yesterday. Neither would I mention Selden, where you might cite Lactantius, Clemens, Josephus, or Eusebius: because they are authors which every man will judge you might reade. And rather Fonseca, or indeede Molin, then Pinellus, who brought that opinion from them.—And here, by the way, touching what you affirme concerning the fallen angels' intuitive knowledg, there be that will replye that Lucifer was never *in patriâ* but *in viâ* onely: for so St. August. in those excellent treatises De Corruptione et Gratiâ and De Dono Perseverantiæ; that the fallen angels never saw God as *Authorem gratiæ*, but as *cultorem naturæ*, enigmatically and not intuitively, being then in probation

onely, as was man, and had the same use of their will: God onely at that moment confirming Michael and his fellows who refused to come into the rebellious party, what tyme as he condemned the dragon, and the rest of those lapsed spirits.

Touching the eternity of the world, I suppose you meane *de eternitate absolutâ*: for it were else hard to say which was first, the sun, or the light which it projects; since they are not onely inseparable but *simul tempore*. God created the world in his mind from eternity say they: or, as others *Deus fecit æternitatem, æternitas fecit mundum*. So Mercurius in Pimander.

In that passage where you prove the existence of a Deity from the wonderfull structure of the microcosme, Lactantius his booke *De opificio Dei* would extreameley delight and furnish you: and so, in all that *Scala visibilium ad invisibilia*, D^r Charleton's "Darknesse of Atheisme," c. 4. 1. 5. p. 130, which I therefore mention to you, because one would not say much of that which has already ben sayd in English: would it not do also well to speake something of natural conscience?—I suppose where you speake of the pismire, and other insects, you meane they have not an intellectual memory: for a sensitive doubtlesse they have; and here you might appositely have sayd something concerning that *Animalis Religio*, of which S^t Ambrose speakes, distinguishing it from Aquinas' *Religio rationalis*.

Concerning the lenity of God, upon which you have most rationally dilated, the 10th chapt. of the 1 booke of Proclus would extreameley delight you. Touching the knowledge of God, you must by all meanes consult that admirable little treatise of M. Felix his Octavius; and S^t Aug: *de Concubitu Angelorum*, about our prayers to them, in which you have so imitated the divine S^t Hierom, by your con-

stant assertion of the Paradise deduced from Scripture, that more cannot be wished: yet something which S^t Paul has sayd 2 chapt. Epist. ad Coloss. and in the 9th of Ecclesiast: may be applied.

They affirme that the devill may be an aërial body, and by that meanes enter into mens bodys without our perception: but I will not importune you further with these trifles: onely I will mind you of one passage of Jamblicus, speaking of the natural sense of God in Man. *Ante omnem* (saith he) *usum rationis in est naturaliter insita Deorum notio: imò tactus quidem divinitatis melior quàm notitia*: and to that purpose Cicero de Nat. Deor: Seneca de Providentiâ, the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, and more expressly Lactantius, l. 3. c. 9, where he proves *cultum Dei* to be naturally in man, making it a formal part of its definition, *Animal Rationale Religiosum*. To conclude, Augustine, Clemens, Lactantius, Cyrill, Arnobius, Justin Martyr, of old,—of the neoteriq, Aquinas, Plæssis Morney, D^r Andrews, Grotius, D^r Hammond, in a particular *opusculum*, I. L. Vives, Bradwardine de Causa Dei, Valesius de Sacrà Philosophiâ, Campanella, and our most ingenious Mr. Moore in his Antidote against Atheisme, have all treated on this subject, but in so different a manner, and with so much confusion and prolixity, some few of them excepted, that it will greatly add to the worth and lustre of your piece, who have comprehended so much in so little and to so excellent purpose. I wish you had as perfectly made good y^r promise in what remaines, as in what you have begun, I meane, touching the forme, matter, posture, place, and other circumstances of prayer, in which you would do wonders upon second thoughts.—Sir, I have ben bold to note places with my black-leade where y^r amanuensis has com'itted some sphalmatas, and peradventure some expressions may be advan-

tageously altered at your leasure. But there is nothing in all this by which you will more assert your owne judgment, then in leaving out the eulogie which you are pleased to honour me withall, in citing me as an author of any vallue. By this, S^r, you see how bold I am, both to trouble you with my follys, and then to beg pardon for them; but, as I sayd at first, you must blame your selfe, partly for enjoyning me, and partly for allowing me no more tyme. But he that has the perusal of any of your discourses, cannot but emerge with the greatest advantages. It was the saying of the greate Salmasius, and shall be myne, *Nihil moror libros, et combustos omnes velim, si doctiores tantum, non etiam meliores, qui dant illis operam, reddere idonei sunt.* But such, S^r, is your excellent booke, & such is your conversation, from which I do alwayes returne both more learned and better, who am,

S^r, y^r &c.

Says-Court, 20 Jan: 1656-57.

*From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.*¹

Dear S^r,

I know you will either excuse or acquit, or at least pardon mee that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a return to your so kind and freindly letter: when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted mee deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small poxe and feavers among my children: and

¹ Printed from a Letter in the British Museum, which, although it has no superscription, from the internal evidence which it displays of intimacy between the parties, no less than the mention of Mr. Thurland's, which occurs in it, the late Bp. Heber considered as addressed to Evelyn, and has inserted it as such in his very interesting Life of Bishop Taylor.

I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boyes ; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before Easter, and then I hope to waite upon you, and by your sweet conversation and other diversisements, if not to alleviate my sorrow, yet, at least, to entertaine myselfe and keepe me from too intense and actual thinkings of my trouble. Deare S^r, will you doe so much for me, as to beg my pardon of Mr. Thurland, that I have yet made no returne to him for his so freindly letter and expressions. S^r, you see there is too much matter to make excuse ; my sorrow will, at least, render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But, for myself, I bless God, I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure highly pleased, with thinking how infinitely sweet his mercies are when his judgments are so gracious. S^r, there are many particulars in your letter which I would faine have answered ; but still my little sadnesses intervene, and will yet suffer mee to write nothing else : but that I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be,

Dear and honoured Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and
hearty servant,

JER : TAYLOR.

Feb. 22, 1656-57.

To M^r Boyle, Son of the Earle of Corke.

S^r,

I should infinitely blush at the slownesse of this addresse, if a greate indisposition of body, which obliged me to a course of physick, and since, an unexpected journey (from both which I am but lately delivered), had not im'ediately intervened, since you

were pleased to command these trifles of me. I have omitted those of brasse, &c. because they properly belong to Etching and Ingraving: which treatise, together with five others (viz. Paynting in Oyle, in Miniature, Anealing in Glasse, Enamiling, and Marble Paper), I was once minded to publish (as a specimen of what might be further done in the rest) for the benefit of the ingenious: but I have since ben put off from that designe, not knowing whether I should do well to gratifie so barbarous an age (as I feare is approaching) with curiosities of that nature, delivered with so much integrity as I intended them: and least by it I should also disoblige some, who made those professions their living: or, at least, debase much of their esteeme by prostituting them to the vulgar. Rather, I conceived that a true and ingenious discovery of these and the like arts, would, to better purpose, be compiled for the use of that Mathematico-Chymico-Mechanical Schoole designed by our noble friend D^r Wilkinson, where they might (not without an oath of secresy) be taught to those that either affected or desired any of them: and from thence, as from another Solomons house, so much of them onely made publique, as should from tyme to tyme be judged convenient by the superintendent of that Schoole, for the reputation of learning and benefit of the nation. And upon this score, there would be a most willing contribution of what ingenious persons know of this kind, & to which I should most freely dedicate what I have. In the meane tyme, Sir, I transmitt you this vernish, and shall esteeme my selfe extreamely honoured, that you will farther com'and whatsoever else of this, or any other kinde I possesse, who am, S^r, y^r, &c.

I beseech you, Sir, to make my most humble service acceptable to Dr. Wilkinson: and that you be pleased to communicate to me what successe you

have in the processe of this receipt (myselfe not having had time to examine it), that in case of any difficulty, I may have recourse to the person from whom I received it.

Says-Court, 9 May 1657.

To Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Sir,

Amongst the rest that are tributaries to your worth, I make bold to present you with this small toaken : and though it beares no proportion either with my obligation or your merit ; yet I hope you will accept it, as the product of what I haue employed for this purpose : and which you shall yearly receive so long as God makes me able, and that it may be usefull to you. What I can handsomely doe for you by other friends, as occasions present themselves, may, I hope, in tyme supplie that which I would my selfe do. In order to which, I have already made one of my Brothers sensible of this opportunity to do God and his country an acceptable service : I thinke I shall prevaile as much on the other : the effects whereoff will shew themselues, and care shall be taken that you have an account of all this in due tyme, and as you shall your selfe desire it. I will not add, that by bringing you acquainted with persons of so much virtue (though I speake it of my nearest relatives) I do at all reinforce the kindnesse : since by it I oblige you mutually (for so *beneficium dare socialis res est*), and because it is infinitely short of his respects who (with Philemon) owes you euen him selfe; and which, if I haue not sooner payed, I appeale to philosophy, and the sentences of that wise man who, as some affirme, held intercourse with the Apostle him selfe : *Qui festinat*

utique reddere, non habet animum grati hominis, sed debitoris: et qui nimis cito cupit solvere, invitus debet: qui invitus debet, ingratus est: and, S^r, you haue too far obliged me to be euer guilty of that crime who am,

Rev^d Sir, &c.

Says-Court, 9 May, 1657.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Honour'd & Deare S^r,

A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter & a token; full of humanity & sweetnesse that was, and this, of charity. I know it is more blessed to give then to receive; and yet as I no wayes repine at that Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decrees in heaven for my support & comfort, so I doe most thankfully adore the goodnesse of God to you, whom He consignes to greater glories by the ministeries of these graces. But, S^r, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done that you can thinke I have or can oblige you? S^r, you are too kind to mee, and oblige mee not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you, & honour you, & pray for you; and in all this I can not say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthinesses and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. S^r, though you are beyond the reach of my returnes, & my services are very short of touching you; yet if it were possible for mee to receive any commands, the obeying of which

might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am oblig'd and asham'd, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent my selfe to be,

Honour'd & deare S^r,

Your most affectionate & most obliged
friend & servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

May 15, 1657.

*To Dr. (Jeremy) Taylor,
(to come and Christen my Son George).*

Sir,

I heartily acknowledg the Divine mercys to me, both in this, and many other instances of his goodness to me; but for no earthly concernement more then for what He has conveyed me by your charity and ministration towards my eternal and better interest; and for which I wish that any new gradations of duty to God, or acknowledgments to you from me, may in the least proportion second my greates obligations, and which you continue to reinforce by new and indelible favours and friendships, which I know my selfe to be so much the more unworthy off, as I am infinitely short of the least perfection that you ascribe to me. And because you best know how sad a truth this is, I haue no reason to looke on that part of your letter but as upon our owne emanations, which like the beames of the sunn upon darke and opake bodys make them shine indeede faintly and by reflection. Every one knows from whence they are derived, and where their native fountaine is: and since this is all the tribute which such dim lights repay, τὰ σα' ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέρουμεν, I must never hope to

oblige you, or repay the least of your kindnesse; but what I am able, that I will doe, and that is to be ever mindfull of them, and for ever to love you for them. Sir, I had forgotten to tell you, and indeede it did extreemely trouble me, that you are to expect my coach to waite on you presently after dinner, that you are not to expose your selfe to the casualty of the tydes, in repairing to doe soe Christian an office for, Sir,

Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 9 June, 1657.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Honour'd & deare S^r

Your messenger prevented mine but an houre. But I am much pleased at the repetition of the Divine favour to you in the like instances; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, & care of your family; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former, because the principle is genuine & prolific; and all the emanations of grace are univocal & alike. S^r, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crown'd my innocent in-deavours in my descriptions of freindship, that I perceive there is a freindship beyond what I have fancied, and a real, material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas: and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe the first essay; for when any thing shall be observ'd to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to see the substance, much more beauteous then the picture, and by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life and worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught

them, by what you really are. S^r, I know it is usual amongst civil persons to say kind things when they haue receiv'd kind expressions : but I now goe upon another account : you have forc'd me to say, what I have long thought, and spoken to others, even so much as to your modesty may seeme excessive, but that which to the merit of your person and freindship is very much too little. S^r, I shall by the grace of God waite upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require ; and shall hope that your little one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then & after, make for him : that then also I shall wayte upon your worthy Brothers, I see it is a designe both of your kindnesse, & of the Divine Providence.

S^r, I am

Your most affectionate & most faithfull friend
and servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

June 9, 1657.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Aug. 29, 1657.

Sir,

I am very glad that your good nature hath overcome your modesty, and that you have suffered yourself to be persuaded to benefit the world rather than humour your own retirednesse. I have many reasons to incourage you, and the onely one objection, which is the leaven of your author,¹ *de providentiâ*, you have so well answered, that I am confident, in imitation of your great Master, you will bring good out of evil : and, like those wise physicians, who, giving *αλεξικακα*, doe not onely expell the poyson, but strengthen the stomach, I doubt not but you will take all opportuni-

¹ Alluding to his translation of Lucretius.

ties, and give all advantages, to the reputation and great name of God; and will be glad and rejoyce to imploy your pen for him who gave you fingers to write, and will to dictate.

But, Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soule: that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment; which you conceive is not agreeable to the Apostle's creed, or current of Scriptures, assigning (as you suppose) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other may both be true. For the soule may be immortal, and yet not beatified till the resurrection. For to be, and to be happy or miserable, are not immediate or necessary consequents to each other. For the soule may be alive, and yet not feelee; as it may be alive and not understand; so our soule, when we are fast asleepe, and so Nebuchadnezzar's soule, when he had his lycanthropy. And the Socinians, that say the soule sleepes, doe not suppose that she is mortal; but for want of her instrument cannot do any acts of life. The soule returnes to God; and that, in no sense is death. And I thinke the death of the soule cannot be defined; and there is no death to spirits but annihilation. I am sure there is none that we know of or can understand. For, if ceasing from its operations be death, then it dies sooner than the body: for oftentimes it does not worke any of its nobler operations. In our sleepe we neither feelee nor understand. If you answer, & say it animates the body, and that is a sufficient indication of life: I reply, that if one act alone is sufficient to shew the soule to be alive, then the soule cannot die; for in philosophy it is affirmed, that the soule desires to be re-united; & that which is dead desires not: besides, that the soule can understand without the body is so certaine (if there be any certainty in mystic theology),

& so evident in actions which are reflected upon themselves ; as a desire to desire, a will to will, a remembering that I did remember ; that, if one act be enough to prove the soule to be alive, the state of separation cannot be a state of death to the soule : because she then can desire to be re-united, and she can understand : for nothing can hinder from doing those actions which depend not upon the body, and in which the operations of the soule are not organical.

But to the thing. That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment, I doe believe next to an article of my creed ; and so far I consent with you : but then I cannot allow your consequent ; that the soule is mortal. That the soule is a complete substance I am willing enough to allow in disputation ; though, indeed, I believe the contrary ; and I am sure no philosophy and no divinity can prove its being to be wholly relative & incomplete. But, suppose it : it will not follow that, therefore, it cannot live in separation. For the flame of a candle, which is your owne similitude, will give light enough to this enquiry. The flame of a candle can consist or subsist, though the matter be extinct. I will not instance Licetus his lampes, whose flame had stood still 1500 years, viz. in Tullie's wife's vault. For, if it had spent any matter, the matter would have been exhaust long before that : if it spends none, it is all one as if it had none ; for what need is there of it if there be no use for it, & what use if no feeding the flame, & how can it feed but by spending itselfe ? But the reason why the flame goes out when the matter is exhaust, is because that little particle of fire is soone overcome by the circumflant aire & scattered, when it wants matter to keepe it in unison and closenesse : but then as the flame continues not in the relation of a candle's flame when the matter is exhaust, yet fire can abide without matter to feed it : for it self is

matter; it is a substance. And so is the soule: & as the element of fire, & the celestial globes of fire, eat nothing, but live of themselves; so can the soule when it is divested of its relative; & so would the candle's flame, if it could get to the regions of fire, as the soule does to the region of spirits.

The places of Scripture you are pleased to urge, I shall reserve for our meeting or another letter; for they require particular pointing. But one thing only, because the answer is short, I shall reply to; why the Apostle, preaching Jesus and the resurrection, said nothing of the immortality of the soule? I answer, because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. 2. And if it had not, yet what need he preach that to them which in Athens was believed by almost all their schooles of learning? For besides that the immortality of the soule was believed by the Gymnosophists in India, by Trismegist in Egypt, by Job in Chaldea, by his friends in the East, it was also confessed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Thules Milesius, & by Aristotle, as I am sure I can prove. I say nothing of Cicero, & all the Latins; and nothing of all the Christian schooles of philosophy that ever were. But when you see it in Scripture, I know you will no way refuse it. To this purpose are those words of St. Paul, speaking of his rapture into heaven. He purposely and by design twice says, "whether in the body or out of the body I know not:" by which he plainly says, that it was no ways unlikely that his rapture was out of the body; & therefore, it is very agreeable to the nature of the soule to operate in separation from the body.

Sir, for your other question, how it appears that God made all things out of nothing? I answer, it is demonstratively certain; or else there is no God. For if there be a God, he is the one principle: but, if he did not make the first thing, then there is some-

thing besides him that was never made; and then there are two eternals. Now if God made the first thing, he made it of nothing. But, Sir, if I may have the honour to see your annotations before you publish them, I will give all the faithful and most friendly assistances that are in the power of,

Deare Sir,

Your most obliged and affectionate servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

To Sir Richard Browne.

S^r,

By the reverse of this medall, you will perceive how much reason I had to be affraid of my felicity, and how greatly it did import to me to do all that I could to prevent what I have apprehended, what I deserved, and what now I feele. God has taken from us that deare childe, y^r grandson, your godsonn, and with him all the joy and satisfaction that could be derived from the greatest hopes. A losse, so much the more to be deplored, as our contentments were extraordinary, and the indications of his future perfections as faire & legible as, yet, I ever saw, or read of in one so very young: you have, Sir, heard so much of this, that I may say it with the lesse crime & suspicion. And indeede his whole life was from the beginning so greate a miracle, that it were hard to exceede in the description of it, and which I should here yet attempt, by sum'ing up all the prodigies of it, and what a child at 5 yeares old (for he was little more) is capable of, had I not given you so many minute and particular accounts of it, by several expresses, when I then mentioned those things with the greatest joy, which now I write with as much sorrow and amasement. But so it is, that has pleased God to dispose of him, and that blossome

(fruit, rather I may say) is fallen; a six days quotidian having deprived us of him; an accident that has made so greate a breache in all my contentments, as I do never hope to see repaired: because we are not in this life to be fed with wonders: and that I know you will hardly be able to support the affliction & the losse, who beare so greate a part in every thing that concernes me. But thus we must be reduced when God sees good, and I submitt; since I had, therefore, this blessing for a punishment, & that I might feele the effects of my great unworthynesse. But I have begged of God that I might pay the fine heare, and if to such belonged the kingdome of heaven, I have one depositum there. *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit*: blessed be his name: since without that consideration it were impossible to support it: for the stroke is so severe, that I find nothing in all philosophy capable to allay the impression of it, beyond that of cutting the channell and dividing with our friends, who really sigh on our behalfe, and mingle with our greater sorrows in accents of piety and compassion, which is all that can yet any ways alleviate the sadness of, Deare Sir, Y^r &c.

Says-Court, 14 Feb: 1657-8.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Deare S^r,

If dividing & sharing greifes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your streame much abated; for I account my selfe to have a great cause of sorrow not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joyes & hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrowes without adding to yours; & the causes of my real sadnesse in your

losse are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have very great cause to mourne : So certaine it is that greife does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, & by joyning mine to yours, I doe but encrease the flame. *Hoc me malè urit*, is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But, S^r, I cannot choose but I must hold another & a brighter flame to you—it is already burning in your breast ; & if I can but remooove the dark side of the lanthorne, you haue enough within you to warme yourselfe, & to shine to others. Remember, S^r, your two boyes are two bright starres, & their innocence is secur'd, & you shall never heare evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, & heaven is given to them upon very easy termes ; nothing but to be borne and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are ; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable greife ; and indeed, though the greife hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no loosers, but you are the person that complains, doe but consider what you would have suffer'd for their interest ; you haue suffer'd them to goe from you, to be great Princes in a strange country ; and if you can be content to suffer your owne inconvenience for their interest, you command your worthiest love, the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God ; and He that so smites here, will spare hereafter ; & if you by patience & submission imprint the discipline upon your owne flesh, you kill the cause, & make the effect very tolerable ; because it is in some sense chosen, & therefore in no sense unsufferable. S^r, if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, & reproach

you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider that of the bravest men in the world, we find the seldomest stories of their children, & the Apostles had none, & thousands of the worthiest persons that sound most in story died childlesse ; you will find that is a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions & discourses, governments, & reasonings.— If the breach be neuer repair'd it is because God does not see it fitt to be ; and if you will be of his mind it will be much the better. But, S^r, if you will pardon my zeale and passion for your comfort, I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. S^r, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces ; strive to be an example & a comfort to your lady, & by your wise counsel & comfort stand in the breaches of your owne family, and make it appeare that you are more to her than ten sons. S^r, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your Christian courage and bravery ; & that I may see that God neuer displeases you as long as the maine stake is preserv'd, I meane your hopes & confidences of heaven. S^r, I shal pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort & a present mind ; and shal alwayes doe you honour, & faine also would doe you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections & desires of,

Deare S^r,

Your most affectionate & obliged

freind & servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

Feb. 17, 1657-8.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

May 12, 1658.

Honour'd Sir,

I returne you many thanks for your care of my temporal affaires : I wish I may be able to give you as good account of my watchfulnesse for your service, as you have of your diligence to doe me benefit. But concerning the thing it selfe, I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semicircle, where a Presbyterian and myself shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up the other downe, which methinkes is like worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious halfe the yeare, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge & trouble of remooving myselfe & family. It is wholly arbitrary ; for the triers may overthrow it ; or the vicar may forbid it ; or the subscribers may die, or grow weary, or poore, or be absent. I beseech you, Sir, pay my thanks to your friend, who had so much kindnesse for me as to intend my benefitt. I thinke myselfe no lesse obliged to him & you, than if I had accepted it.

Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations & the extracts of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this, that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immersed in the delices & joyes of religion ; & as I perceive your relish and gust of the things of the world goes off continually, so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites, for in religion every new degree of love is a new appetite, as in the schooles we say, every single angel does make a species, & differs more than numerically from an angel of the same order.

Your question concerning interest hath in it no difficulty as you have prudently stated it. For in the case, you have onely made yourselfe a merchant with them ; onely you take lesse, that you be secured, as you pay a fine to the Assurance Office. I am onely to adde this ; you are neither directly nor collaterally to engage the debtor to pay more than is allowed by law. It is necessary that you imploy your money some way for the advantage of your family. You may lawfully buy land, or traffique, or exchange it to your profit. You may doe this by yourselfe or by another, & you may as well get something as he get more, & that as well by money as by land or goods, for one is as valuable in estimation of merchants, and of all the world as any thing can be ; & mee thinkes no man should deny mony to be valuable, that remembers, every man parts with what he hath for mony : & as lands are of a price, then (when) they are sold for ever, & when they are parted with for a yeare, so is money : since the imployment of it is as apt to minister to gaine as lands are to rent. Mony & lands are equally the matter of increase ; to both of them our industry must (be) applied, or else the profit will cease ; now as a tenant of lands may plough for mee, so a tenant of money may goe to sea & traffique for mee. . . .

To Edward Thurland, Esq.

Sir,

I understand that my L^d of Northumberland has some thoughts of sending his son, my L^d Percy, abroad to travaile, and withall to allow him an ap-
poyntment so noble and considerable, as dos become his greatnesse, and the accomplishment of his education to the best improvement. My many yeares conversation abroad and relations there to persons of

merite and qualitie, having afforded me severall opportunities to consider of effects of this nature by the successes, when gentlemen of qualitie have been sent beyond the seas, resigned and concredited to the conduct of such as they call Governours, being for the greatest ingredient a pedantique sort of scholars, infinitely uninstructed for such an employment: my ambition to serve you by contributing to the designs of a person so illustrious, and worthy of the honour which I find you alwayes beare towards his Lo'p, hath created in me the confidence to request your advice and returne upon these particulars. Whether my Lord persist still in his resolution? What equipage and *honorarium* my L^d dos allow? and whether he has not yet pitched upon any man to accompanye my young Lord, &c.? Because I would, through your mediation, recom'end to his Lo'p a person of honour, addresse in Court, rare erudition, languages and credite: who, I thinke, would upon my representing of the proposition, be ready to serve my Lord in an affaire of this importance. I shall add no more of the person, *quum habeat in se, quæ quum tibi nota fuerint* συστατικώτερα πάσης ἐπιστολῆς *esse judicaberis*: and because, in truth, all that I can say will be infinitely inferior to his merite; being a person of integrity, great experience, and discretion; in a word, without reproach, and such as becomes my Lord to seek out, that he may render his sonne those honourable and decent advantages of the most refined conversations, things not to be encountered in a pension with a pedant—the education of most of our nobility abroad, which makes them returne (I pronounce it with a blushe) insolent and ignorant, debauched, and without the least tincture of those advantages to be hoped for through the prudent conduct of some brave man of parts, sober, active, and of universall addresse—in fine, such as the person I would recom'end, and

the greatest Prince in Europe might emulate upon the like occasion : and therefore such a one, as I cannot presume would descend to my proposition for any persone of our nation excepting my Lord of Northumberland alone, whose education of his sonne, I heare, has ben of another streine and alloy, then that we have mentioned : and such as will giue countenance and honour to a person of his merite, character, and abilities. It is not enough that persons of my L. Percy's qualitie be taught to daunce, and to ride, to speake languages and weare his cloathes with a good grace (which are the verie shells of travail), but, besides all these, that he know men, customes, courts, and disciplines, and whatsoever superior excellencys the places afford, befitting a person of birth and noble impressions. This is, S^r, the fruite of travail : thus our incomparable Sidney was bred ; and this, *tanquam Minerva Phidiæ*, setteth the crowne upon his perfections when a gallant man shall returne with religion and courage, knowledge and modestie, without pedantry, without affectation, materiall and serious, to the contentment of his relations, the glory of his family, the star and ornament of his age. This is truely to give a citizen to his country. Youth is the seede-tyme in which the foundation of all noble things is to layd ; but it is made the field of repentance. For what can become more glorious then to be ignorant of nothing but of vice, which indeede has no solid existency, and therefore is nothing ? and unlesse thus we cultivate our youth, and noblemen make wiser provisions for their educations abroad, above the vanity of talke, feather, and ribbon, the ordinary com'erce and import of their wild pererrations, I despayre of ever living to see a man truely noble indeede : they may be called " My Lord ; " titles and sounds and inferior trifles ; but when virtue and blood are coincidents, they both add lustre and mutual ex-

cellencys. This is what my Lord takes care to secure to his sonne, what I foresee and augure of my noble Lord Percy, and of whom (though to me no otherwise known then by fame) may this be the least portion of his panegyrick, whilst it concernes me onely to testifie, without designe, my zeale for one whom I know you so highly vallue; *quanto enim mihi carior est amicitia tua, tanto antiquior mihi esse debet cura, illam omnibus officiis testandi*; which, Sir, is the product of this impertinency, and sole ambition of, Sir, y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 8 Nov: 1658.

To my Co: Geo. Tuke, of Cressing Temple, in Essex.

Jan. 1658-9.

Speaking of his brother having been made a proselyte to the Church of Rome:—"For the rest, we must com'itt to Providence the successe of tymes & mitigation of proselytical fervours; having for my owne p'ticular a very greate charity for all who sincerely adore the blessed Jesus, our com'on & deare Saviour, as being full of hope that God (however the p'sent zeale of some & the scandals taken by others at the instant afflictions of the Church of England may transport them) will at last compassionate our infirmities, clarifie our judgments, and make abatement for our ignorances, superstructures, passions & errours of corrupt tymes & interests, of w^{ch} the Romish persuasion can no way acquit herself, whatever the present prosperity & secular polity may pretend. But God will make all things manifest in his owne tyme; onely let us possess ourselves in patience & charity; this will cover a multitude of imperfections." ¹

¹ See Mrs. Evelyn's character of him in a letter to Lady Tuke on his death, dated Jan. 28, 1672. Sir Samuel Tuke, of Cressing

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Lisnagarvy, April 9, 1659.

Honoured Sir,

I feare I am so unfortunate as that I forgot to leave with you a direction how you might, if you pleased to honour we with a letter, refresh my solitude with notice of your health & that of your relatives, that I may rejoyce & give God thanks for the blessing & prosperity of my dearest & most honoured friends. I have kept close all the winter, that I might, without interruption, attend to the finishing of the imployment I was engaged in: which now will have no longer delay than what it meetes in the printer's hands. But, Sir, I hope that by this time you have finished what you have so prosperously begun,—your owne Lucretius. I desire to receive notice of it from yourselfe, & what other designes you are upon in order to the promoting or adorning learning: for I am confident you will be as useful and profitable as you can be, that, by the worthiest testimonies, it may by posterity be remembered that you did live. But, Sir, I pray say to me something concerning the state of learning; how is any art or science likely to improve? what good bookes are lately publike? what learned men, abroad or at home, begin anew to fill the mouth of fame, in the places of the dead Salmasius, Vossius, Mocelin, Simond, Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peiresk, Petavius, & the excellent persons of yes-

Temple in Essex, Bart, was a Colonel in the King's service during the civil war, and afterwards being one of those that attempted to form a body in Essex for King Charles, he narrowly escaped with his life. He married Mary Sheldon, one of Queen Catharine's dressers, and died at Somerset House, Jan. 26, 1673. Dodd's Church History, iii. 251. His accomplished son followed the fortune of King James, and was killed at the Battle of the Boyne.

terday? I perceive here that there is a new sect rising in England, the Perfectionists; for three men that wrote an Examen of the Confession of Faith of the Assembly, whereof one was D^r Drayton, & is now dead, did starte some very odde things; but especially one, in pursuance of the doctrine of Castellio, that it is possible to give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, & to have perfection of degrees in this life. The doctrine was opposed by an obscure person, one John Tendring; but learnedly enough & wittily maintained by another of the triumvirate, W^m Parker, who indeed was the first of the three; but he takes his hint from a sermon of D^r Drayton, which, since his death, Parker hath published, & endeavours to justify. I am informed by a worthy person, that there are many of them who pretend to great sanctity & great revelations & skill in all Scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to spiritual & mysterious purposes. I knew nothing, or but extremely little, of them when I was in England; but further off I heare most newes. If you can informe yourselfe concerning them, I would faine be instructed concerning their designe, & the circumstances of their life & doctrine. For they live strictly, & in many things speak rationally, & in some things very confidently. They excell the Socinians in the strictnesse of their doctrine; but, in my opinion, fall extremely short of them in their expositions of the practical Scripture. If you inquire after the men of Dr. Gell's church, possibly you may learn much: & if I mistake not, the thing is worth inquiry. Their bookes are printed by Thos: Newcomb in London, but where is not set downe. The Examen of the Assemblie's Confession is highly worth perusing, both for the strangenesse of some things in it, & the learning of many of them.

Sir, You see how I am glad to make an occasion to talke with you : though I can never want a just opportunity & title to write to you, as long as I have the memory of those many actions of loving kindnesse by which you have obliged,

Honoured Sir,

Your most affectionate & endeared friend
& humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

To the Hon^{ble} Robert Boyle.

Says-Court, April 13, 1659.

Sir,

Having the last year drawn a good quantity of the essence of roses, by the common way of fermentation ; & remembering how soon it went away, amongst the ladies, after they had once scented it ; the season of flowers now approaching, makes me call to mind, to have known it sold by some chemists (& in particular by one Longsire at Chichester) mixed with a substance not unlike it ; which retained the odor of it wonderful exactly ; but in such a proportion, that for seven or eight shillings a sister of mine was used to purchase more than any man living can extract out of three or four hundred weight of roses, by the vulgar, or Glauber's preparation : by which means that precious essence may be made to serve for many ordinary uses, without much detriment. Sir, I am bold to request of you, that if you know what it is (for if you know it not, I despair of encountering it) you will be pleased to instruct me ; &, in lieu thereof, to command me some service by which I may testify my great ambition to obey you, & how profoundly sensible I remain of my many obligations to you,

which I should not have been thus long in expressing, had not I apprehended how importune letters are to studious persons, where the commerce is so jejune; & that I can return you nothing in exchange for civilities I have already received. Sir, I have reason to be confident that you are upon some very glorious design, & that you need no subsidiaries, & therein you are happy; make us so, likewise, with a confirmation of it; that such as cannot hope to contribute any thing of value to the adornment of it, may yet be permitted to augur you all the success which your worthy & noble attempts do merit; in the mean time, that some domestick afflictions of mine have rendered me thus long useless, both to my friends & to myself; which I wish may be thought a just apology for,

Noble Sir,

Your most humble & most obedient servant,

J. EVELYN.

Sir, I know the imposters multiply their essence of roses with *ol. lig. Rhodii*, others with that of *Ben*; but it can be neither; for the oil of rosewood will vanquish it exceedingly, neither is it so fluid; & the other grows rancid. Some have told me it was spermaceti, which I have not essayed.

Your commands will at any time find me, directed to the Hawk & Pheasant upon Ludgate-hill, at one Mr. Saunders's, a woollen-drapeer.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Portmore, June 4, 1659.

Honoured Sir,

I have reason to take a great pleasure that you are pleased so perfectly to retaine me in your memory & affections as if I were still neere you, a

partner of your converse, or could possibly oblige you. But I shall attribute this so wholly to your goodnesse, your piety & candour, that I am sure nothing on my part can incite or continue the least part of those civilities & endearments by which you have often, and still continue to oblige me. Sir, I received your two little bookes, & am very much pleased with the golden booke of St. Chrysostom, on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, & made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy; & when I read it, I could not choose but observe St. Paul's rule, *flebam cum flentibus*. I paid a teare at the hearse of that sweet child. Your other little Enchiridion is an emanation of an ingenuous spirit; & there are in it observations, the like of which are seldom made by young travellers; & though by the publication of these you have been civil & courteous to the commonwealth of learning, yet I hope you will proceed to oblige us in some greater instances of your owne. I am much pleased with your waye of translation; & if you would proceed in the same method, & give us in English some devout pieces of the fathers, & your own annotations upon them, you would do profit & pleasure to the publicke. But, Sir, I cannot easily consent that you should lay aside your Lucretius, & having beene requited yourselfe by your labour, I cannot perceive why you should not give us the same recreation, since it will be greater to us than it could be to you, to whom it was allayed by your great labour: especially you have given us so large an essay of your ability to doe it; & the world having given you an essay of their acceptation of it.

Sir, that Pallavicini whom you mention is the author of the late history of the Council of Trent, in two volumes in folio, in Italian. I have seene it,

but had not leisure to peruse it so much as to give any judgment of the man by it. Besides this, he hath published two little manuals in 12mo, *Assertionum Theologicarum*; but these speake but very little of the man. His history, indeed, is a great undertaking, & his family (for he is of the Jesuit order), used to sell the booke by crying up the man: but I think I saw enough of it to suspect the expectation is much bigger then the thing. It is no wonder that Baxter undervalues the gentry of England. You know what spirit he is of, but I suppose he hath met with his match, for Mr. Peirs hath attacked him, & they are joyned in the lists. I have not seene Mr. Thorndike's booke. You make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate: but I like not the title nor the subject, & the man is indeed a very good & a learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings: but if he have so well chosen the questions, there is no per-adventure but he hath tumbled into his heape many choice materials. I am much pleas'd that you promise to inquire into the way of the Pefectionists; but I think L. Pembroke & Mrs. Joy, & the Lady Wildgoose, are none of that number. I assure you, some very learned & very sober persons have given up their names to it. Castellio is their great patriarch; & his dialogue *An per Spir. S. homo possit perfectè obedire legi Dei*, is their first essay. Parker hath written something lately of it, & in Dr. Gell's last booke in folio, there is much of it. Indeed you say right that they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, & they understand him as nurses doe their children's imperfect language; something by use, & much by fancy. I hope, Sir, in your next to me (for I flatter myselfe to have the happinesse of receiving a letter from you sometimes), you will account to me of some hopes concerning

some settlement, or some peace to religion. I feare my peace in Ireland is likely to be short, for a Presbyterian & a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion; & for using the signe of the crosse in baptisme. The worst event of the information which I feare, is my returne into England; which, although I am not desirous it should be upon these termes, yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled.

Sir, I doe account myselfe extremely obliged to your kindness & charity, in your continued care of me, & bounty to me; it is so much the more, because I have almost from all men but yourselfe, suffered some diminution of their kindnesse, by reason of my absence; for, as the Spaniard says, "The dead & the absent have but few friends." But, Sir, I account myselfe infinitely obliged to you, much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed. I pray, Sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your two honoured Brothers: I shall be ashamed to make any addresse, or pay my thanks in words to them, till my rule of conscience be publicke, & that is all the way I have to pay my debts; that & my prayers that God would. Sir, Mr. Martin, bookseller, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Churchyard, is my correspondent in London, & whatsoever he receives, he transmits it to me carefully; & so will Mr. Royston, though I doe not often imploy him now. Sir, I feare I have tired you with an impertinent letter, but I have felt your charity to be so great as to doe much more than to pardon the excesse of my affections. Sir, I hope that you & I remember one another when we are upon our knees. I doe not thinke of coming to London till the latter end of summer, or the spring, if I can enjoy my quietnesse here; but

then I doe if God permit : but beg to be in this interval refreshed by a letter from you at your leisure, for, indeed, in it will be a great pleasure & endearment to,

Honoured Sir,
Your very obliged, most affectionate,
& humble servant,
JER. TAYLOR.

To the Hon^{ble} Robert Boyle.

Says-Court, Aug. 9, 1659.

Honoured Sir,

I am perfectly ashamed at the remissness of this recognition for your late favours from *Oxon* : where (though had you resided) it should have interrupted you before this time. It was by our common & good friend Mr. Hartlib, that I come now to know you are retired from thence, but not from the muses, & the pursuit of your worthy designs, the result whereof we thirst after with all impatience ; & how fortunate should I esteem myself, if it were in my power to contribute in the least to that, which I augur of so great & universal a benefit ! But, so it is, that my late inactivity has made so small a progress, that, in the History of Trades, I am not advanced a step ; finding (to my infinite grief) my great imperfections for the attempt, & the many subjections, which I cannot support, of conversing with mechanical capricious persons, & several other discouragements ; so that, giving over a design of that magnitude, I am ready to acknowledge my fault, if from any expression of mine there was any room to hope for such a production, farther than by a short collection of some heads & materials, & a continual propensity of endeavouring in some particular, to



encourage so noble a work, as far as I am able, a specimen whereof I have transmitted to Mr. Hartlib, concerning the ornaments of gardens, which I have requested him to communicate to you, as one from whom I hope to receive my best & most considerable furniture ; which favour, I do again & again humbly supplicate ; & especially, touching the first chapter of the third book, the eleventh & twelfth of the first ; & indeed, on every particular of the whole. Sir, I thank you for your receipts : there is no danger I should prostitute them, having encountered in books what will sufficiently (I hope) gratify the curiosity of most, when in my third I speak of the elaboratory. But I remit you to what I have written to Mr. Hartlib, & begging pardon for this presumption, crave leave to remain,

Sir,

Your most humble, & obedient servant,

J. EVELYN.

Sir, do you know whether Campanella has said any thing concerning altering the shape of fruits, &c., & how I may obtain the perusal of *Benedicti Curtii Hortorum Lib. 30. Lugd. 1560. fol. ?*

To the Hon^{ble} Robert Boyle.

Says-Court, Sept. 3, 1659.

Noble Sir,

Together with these testimonies of my chearful obedience to your commands, & a faithful promise of transmitting the rest, if yet there remain any thing worthy your acceptance amongst my unpolished & scattered collections, I do here make bold to trouble you with a more minute discovery of the design, which I casually mentioned to you, concerning my

great inclination to redeem the remainder of my time, considering, *quam parum mihi supersit ad metas*; so as may best improve it to the glory of God Almighty, & the benefit of others. And, since it has proved impossible for me to attain to it hitherto (though in this my private & mean station) by reason of that fond morigeration to the mistaken customs of the age, which not only rob men of their time, but extremely of their virtue & best advantages; I have established with myself, that it is not to be hoped for, without some resolutions of quitting these incumbrances, & instituting such a manner of life, for the future, as may best conduce to a design so much breathed after, & I think, so advantageous. In order to this, I propound, that since we are not to hope for a mathematical college, much less, a Solomon's house, hardly a friend in this sad *Catalysis*, & *inter hos armorum strepitus*, a period so uncharitable & perverse; why might not some gentlemen, whose geniuses are greatly suitable, & who desire nothing more than to give a good example, preserve science, & cultivate themselves, join together in society, & resolve upon some orders & œconomy, to be mutually observed, such as shall best become the end of their union, if, I cannot say, without a kind of singularity, because the thing is new; yet such, at least, as shall be free from pedantry, and all affectation? The possibility, Sir, of this is so obvious, that I profess, were I not an aggregate person, & so obliged, as well by my own nature as the laws of decency, & their merits, to provide for my dependents, I would chearfully devote my small fortune towards a design, by which I might hope to assemble some small number together who would resign themselves to live profitably and sweetly together. But since I am unworthy so great a happiness, & that it is not now in my power, I propose that if any one worthy person,

& *queis meliore luto*, so qualified as Mr. Boyle, will join in the design (for not with every one, rich & learned, there are very few disposed, and it is the greatest difficulty to find the man) we would not doubt, in a short time (by God's assistance), to be possessed of the most blessed life that virtuous persons could wish or aspire to in this miserable & uncertain pilgrimage, whether considered as to the present revolutions, or what may happen for the future in all human probability. Now, Sir, in what instances, & how far this is practicable, permit me to give you an account of, by the calculations which I have deduced for our little foundation.

I propose the purchasing of thirty or forty acres of land, in some healthy place, not above twenty-five miles from London; of which a good part should be tall wood, & the rest upland pastures or downs, sweetly irrigated. If there were not already an house which might be converted, &c. we would erect upon the most convenient site of this, near the wood, our building, viz. one handsome pavilion, containing a refectory, library, withdrawing-room, & a closet; this the first story; for we suppose the kitchen, larders, cellars & offices to be contrived in the half story under ground. In the second should be a fair lodging chamber, a pallet-room, gallery, & a closet; all which should be well & very nobly furnished, for any worthy person that might desire to stay any time, and for the reputation of the college. The half story above for servants, wardrobes, & like conveniences. To the entry fore front of this a court, & at the other back front a plot walled in of a competent square, for the common seraglio, disposed into a garden; or it might be only carpet, kept curiously, & to serve for bowls, walking, or other recreations, &c. if the company please. Opposite to the house, towards the wood, should be erected a pretty chapel; & at equal

distances (even with the flanking walls of the square) six apartments or cells, for the members of the Society, & not contiguous to the pavilion, each whereof should contain a small bedchamber, an outward room, a closet, and a private garden, somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians. There should likewise be one laboratory, with a repository for rarities & things of nature; aviary, dovehouse, physick garden, kitchen garden, & a plantation of orchard fruit, &c. all uniform buildings, but of single stories, or a little elevated. At convenient distance towards the olitory garden should be a stable for two or three horses, & a lodging for a servant or two. Lastly, a garden house & conservatory for tender plants.

The estimate amounts thus. The pavilion £400, chapel £150, apartments, walls, & out-housing £600; the purchase of the fee for 30 acres, at £15 per acre, eighteen years purchase, £400; the total £1550, £1600 will be the utmost. Three of the cells or apartments, that is, one moiety, with the appertenances, shall be at the disposal of one of the founders, and the other half at the other's.

If I & my wife take up two apartments (for we are to be decently asunder, however I stipulate, & her inclination will greatly suit with it, that shall be no impediment to the Society, but a considerable advantage to the œconomick part) a third shall be for some worthy person; and to facilitate the rest, I offer to furnish the whole pavilion compleatly, to the value of £500 in goods and moveables, if need be, for seven years, till there be a publick stock, &c.

There shall be maintained at the public charge, only a chaplain, well qualified, an ancient woman to dress the meat, wash, and do all such offices, a man to buy provisions, keep the garden, horses, &c. a boy to assist him, and serve within.

At one meal a day, of two dishes only (unless

some little extraordinary upon particular days or occasions, then never exceeding three) of plain & wholesome meat ; a small refection at night : wine, beer, sugar, spice, bread, fish, fowl, candle, soap, oats, hay, fuel, &c. at £4 per week, £200 per annum ; wages £15 : keeping the gardens £20, the chaplain £20 per ann. Laid up in the treasury yearly £145, to be employed for books, instruments, drugs, trials, &c. The total £400 a year, comprehending the keeping of two horses for the chariot or the saddle, & two kine : so that £200 per ann. will be the utmost that the founders shall be at to maintain the whole Society, consisting of nine persons (the servants included) though there should no others join capable to alleviate the expence ; but if any of those who desire to be of the Society be so qualified as to support their own particulars, & allow for their own proportion, it will yet much diminish the charge ; and of such there cannot want some at all times, as the apartments are empty.

If either of the founders think expedient to alter his condition, or that any thing do *humanitus contingere*, he may resign to another, or sell to his colleague, and dispose of it as he pleases, yet so as it still continue the institution.

ORDERS.

At six in summer prayers in the chapel. To study till half an hour after eleven. Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire till four. Then called to conversation (if the weather invite) abroad, else in the refectory ; this never omitted but in case of sickness. Prayers at seven. To bed at nine. In the winter the same, with some abatements for the hours, because the nights are tedious, and the evenings conversation more agreeable ; this in the refectory. All

play interdicted, *sans* bowls, chess, &c. Every one to cultivate his own garden. One month in spring a course in the elaboratory on vegetables, &c. In the winter a month on other experiments. Every man to have a key of the elaboratory, pavilion, library, repository, &c. Weekly fast. Communion once every fortnight, or month at least. No stranger easily admitted to visit any of the Society, but upon certain days weekly, and that only after dinner. Any of the Society may have his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet in the refectory, so it be not above twice a week. Every Thursday shall be a musick meeting at conversation hours. Every person of the Society shall render some publick account of his studies weekly, if thought fit, and especially shall be recommended the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the principal end of the institution. There shall be a decent habit and uniform used in the college. One month in the year may be spent in London, or any of the Universities, or in a perambulation for the publick benefit, &c. with what other orders shall be thought convenient, &c.

Thus, Sir, I have in haste (but to your loss not in a laconic style) presumed to communicate to you (& truly, in my life, never to any but yourself) that project which for some time has traversed my thoughts; and therefore far from being the effect either of an impertinent or trifling spirit, but the result of mature and frequent reasonings. And, Sir, is not this the same that many noble personages did at the confusion of the empire by the barbarous Goths, when S^t Hierome, Eustochium, & others, retired from the impertinences of the world to the sweet recesses and societies in the East, till it came to be burthened with the vows & superstitions, which can give no scandal to our design, that provides against all such snares?

Now to assure you, Sir, how pure & unmixed the design is from any other than the publick interest propounded by me, & to redeem the time to the noblest purposes, I am thankfully to acknowledge that, as to the common forms of living in the world I have little reason to be displeased at my present condition, in which, I bless God, I want nothing conducing either to health or honest diversion, extremely beyond my merit; & therefore would I be somewhat choice & scrupulous in my colleague, because he is to be the most dear person to me in the world. But oh! how I should think it designed from heaven, & *tanquam numen διοπετὲς*, did such a person as Mr. Boyle, who is alone a society of all that were desirable to a consummate felicity, esteem it a design worthy his embracing! Upon such an occasion how would I prostitute all my other concerns! how would I exult! &, as I am, continue upon infinite accumulations & regards,

Sir,

His most humble, & most obedient servant,

J. EVELYN.

If my health permits me the honour to pay my respects to you before you leave the Town, I will bring you a rude plot of the building, which will better fix the idea, and shew what symmetry it holds with this description.

To the Honourable Robert Boyle.

Says-Court, Sept. 29, 1659.

Sir,

I send you this enclosed, the product of your commands, but the least instance of my ambition to serve you: & when I shall add, that if an oblation of whatever else I possess can verify the expression of my

greater esteem of your incomparable book, which is indicted with a pen snatched from the wing of a seraphim, exalts your divine incentives to that height, that being sometimes ravished with your description of that transcendant state of angelical amours, I was almost reconciled to the passion of Cleombrotus, who threw himself into the water upon the reading of Plato, & (as despairing to enjoy it) ready to cry out with St. Paul, *cupio dissolvi*, & to be in the embraces of this seraphick love, which you have described to that perfection, as if in the company of some celestial harbinger you had taken flight, and been ravished into the third heaven, where you have heard words unutterable, & from whence you bring us such affections & divine inclinations, as are only competent to angels & to yourself: for so powerful is your eloquence, so metaphysical your discourse, & sublime your subject. And though by all this, & your rare example, you civilly declaim against the mistakes we married persons usually make; yet I cannot think it a paralogism or insidious reasoning, which you manage with so much ingenuity, & pursue with so great judgment. But certainly it was an extraordinary grace, that at so early years, & amidst the ardours of youth, you should be able to discern so maturely, & determine so happily: avoid the Syren, & escape the tempest: but thus, when the curiosity of Psyche had lighted the taper, & was resolved to see what so ardently embraced her, she discovered an impertinent child, the weakness & folly of the passion. You, Sir, found its imperfections betimes; & that men then ceased to be wise when they began to be in love, unless with you, they could turn nature into grace, & at once place their affections on the right object. But, Sir, though you seem tender of the consequence all this while, the conclusion will speak as well as

your example ; that though you have said nothing of marriage, which is the result of love, yet you suppose that it were hard to become a servant without folly ; & that there are ten thousand inquietudes espoused with a mistress. That the fruits of children are tears & weakness, whilst the productions of the spirit put their parents neither to charge nor trouble ; that all these heroes, of whom we read, esteemed most precious of the celibate. Alexander had no child, & Hercules left no heir : Pallas was born of the brain of Jupiter ; & the Venus Urania of the Platonists made love only to the soul, which she united to the essence of God (according to their divinity), & had no lower commerce than what you so worthily celebrate in your book, & cultivate in your life. But though these were all true, & all that you have added, since I find the passion of Lindamore rather to be pitied than criminal, because Hermione's was not reciprocal ; though she were cruel, the sex is tender, & amiable, pious, & useful, & will never want champions to defend their virtues & assert their dues, & that is our love & our service. For if it be virtuous, it is the nearest to the seraphical ; & whatever can be objected against it, proceeds from the vices of the person's defect, or extremes of the passion. But you instance in the jealousies, diseases, follies, & inconstancies of love : the sensual truly is obnoxious to all these ; but who have been the martyrs, where the design was not plainly brutish, indifferent to the education, or blinded with avarice ? And if you have example of their hatred, & perfidy, I can produce a thousand of their affection & integrity. What think you, Sir, of Alceste, that ran into the funeral pile of her husband ? The goodness of Emilia, the chastity of Lucretia, the faith of Furia, of Portia, & infinite others who knew nothing that the Christian institution

has superadded? And the Scriptures are full of worthy examples, since it was from the effects of conjugal love that the Saviour of the world, & that great object of seraphick love, derived his incarnation, who was the son of David. Take away this love, & the whole earth is but a dessert; & though there were nothing more worthy eulogies than virginity, it is yet but the result of love, since those, that shall people paradise, & fill heaven with saints, are such as have been subject to this passion, & were the products of it. In sum, it is by that the church has consecrated to God both virgins & martyrs, & confessors, these five thousand years; & he that said it was not good for man to be alone, placed the celibate amongst the inferior states of perfection, whatsoever some affirm; seeing that of St. Paul is not general, & he confesses he had no command from the Lord. It was the best advice in a time of persecution, the present distress, & for an itinerant apostle; & truly it is what I so recommend to all of that function, that, for many regards I could wish them all as seraphims, who do neither marry nor are given in marriage. But I cannot consent that such a person as Mr. Boyle be so indifferent, decline a virtuous love, or imagine that the best ideas are represented only in romances, where love begins, proceeds, & expires in the pretty tale, but leaves us no worthy impressions of its effects. We have nobler examples: & the wives of philosophers, pious & studious persons, shall furnish our instances: for such was Pudentilla, that held the lamp to her husband's lucubrations: such a companion had the learned Budæus; & the late adventure of Madam Grotius, celebrated by her Hugo, who has not heard of? We need not go abroad; the committee chambers, & the parliament lobby, are sad, but evident testimonies of the patience, & the address, the love, & the constancy of

these gentle creatures. In fine, they bear us out of love, & they give us such ; they divert us when we are well, & tend us when we are sick ; they grieve over us when we die, & some, I have known, that would not be comforted & survive. But, Sir, Ludov. Vives has written a volume on this subject, & taken all his histories from the love of Christian women. Jacobus de Voragine gives us twelve motives to acknowledge the good we receive by them, & I could add a thousand more, were not that of Pliny *instar omnium*, who writing to his mother-in-law Hispulla, that brought his lady up, gives her this character: “Summum est acumen, summa frugalitas: amat me, quod castitatis indicium est. Accedit his studium literarum, quod ex mei charitate concepit. Meos libellos habet, lectitat, ediscit etiam. Qua illa solitudine, cum videor acturus; quanto, cum egi, gaudio afficitur;” & a little after, “Versus quidem meos cantat etiam, formatque cithara, non artifice aliquo docente, sed amore, qui magister est optimus:” whence he well foresees, “perpetuam nobis majoremque indies futuram esse concordiam:” discoursing in that which follows, of the nobleness & purity of her affection, with this elegant and civil acknowledgement, “certatim ergo tibi gratias agimus: ego, quod illam mihi: illa, quod me sibi dederis, quasi invicem deligeris.” And what if Mr. Boyle himself did love such a lady, “gratâ aliqua compede adstrictus,” would it hinder him from the seraphick, or the pursuit of his worthy enquiries? There is no danger, that he should be taught philosophy as Socrates was, who already commands his passions, & has divinity sufficient to render even Zantippe a saint; & whose arguments for the seraphick love would make all men to envy his condition, & suspect their own, if it could once be admitted that those who are given to be *auxilia commoda*, should hinder them in the love

of God, whereof marriage is a figure : for so the apostle makes the parallel, when he speaks of the spouse, Ephes. v. & devotion is so generally conspicuous in the female sex, that they furnish the greater part of many litanies, & whom, if we may not pray to, we ought certainly to praise God for ; not so much because they were virgins, as that they were the mothers & the daughters of the greatest saints, & lights of the church, who propagated the seraphick love with their examples, & sealed it with their blood. But, dear Sir, mistake me not all this while, for I make not this recital as finding the least period in your most excellent discourse prejudicial to the conjugal state ; or that I have the vanity to imagine my forces capable to render you a proselyte of Hymen's, who have already made the worthiest choice ; much less to magnify my own condition, & lay little snares for those obvious replies, which return in compliments, & odious flatteries. I have never encountered any thing extraordinary, or dare lay claim to the least of the virtues I have celebrated : but if I have the conversation capable of exalting & improving our affections, even to the highest of objects, & to contribute very much to human felicity ; I cannot pronounce the love of the sex to be at all misapplied, or to the prejudice of the most seraphical. And if to have the fruition & the knowledge of our friends in heaven, will be so considerable an augmentation of our felicity ; how great is that of the married like to prove, since there is not on earth a friendship comparable to it ? Or if paradise & the ark be the most adequate resemblances of those happy mansions, you may remember there were none but couples there, & that every creature was in love.

But why do I torment your eyes with these impertinencies ? which would never have end, did I not

consider, I am but writing a letter, & how much better you are wont to place your precious hours. But, Sir, I have now but a word to add, & it is to tell you, that, if after all this, we acknowledge your victory, & find all our arguments too weak to contest with your seraphical object, pronounce you wise, & infinitely happy; yet, as if envying that any else should be so, you have too long concealed the discourses, which should have gained you disciples, & are yet not afraid to make apologies for employing that talent, which you cannot justify the wrapping up all this while in a napkin. We therefore, that are entangled in our mistakes, & acknowledge our imperfections, must needs declare against it, as the least effects of a seraphick lover, which were to render all men like himself. And since there is now no other remedy, make the best use we can of, as St. Paul advises, “ut qui habent uxores, sint tanquam non habentes,” &c. & for the rest, to serve & to love God as well as we may in the condition we are assigned; which if it may not approach to the perfection of seraphim, & that of Mr. Boyle, let it be as near as it can, & we shall not account ourselves amongst the most unhappy, for having made some virtuous addresses to that fair sex.

Dearest Sir, permit me to tell you, that I extremely loved you before; but my heart is infinitely knit to you now: for what are we not to expect from so timely a consecration of your excellent abilities? The *Primitiæ* sanctified the whole harvest, & you have at once, by this incomparable piece, taken off the reproach which lay upon piety, & the enquiries into nature; that the one was too early for younger persons, & the other the ready way to atheism, than which, as nothing has been more impiously spoken, so, nor has any thing been more fully refuted. But, Sir, I have finished; pardon this great excess; it is

love that constrains me, & the effects of your discourses, from which I have learned so many excellent things that they are not to be numbered & merited with less than I have said, & than I profess, which is to continue all my life long,

Sir,

Your most humble, obliged,

& most affectionate servant,

J. EVELYN.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Honoured & deare Sir,

Yours, dated July 23d, I received not till All Saints day : it seemes it was stopped by the intervening troubles in England : but it was lodged in a good hand, & came safely & unbroken to me. I must needs beg the favour of you that I may receive from you an account of your health & present conditions, & of your family ; for I feare concerning all my friends, but especially for those few very choice ones I have, lest the present troubles may have done them any violence in their affaires or content. It is now long since that cloud passed ; & though I suppose the sky is yet full of meteors & evil prognostics, yet you all have time to consider concerning your peace and your securityes. That was not God's time to relieve his church, & I cannot understand from what quarter that wind blew, & whether it was for or against us. But God disposes all things wisely ; & religion can receive no detriment or diminution but by our owne fault. I long, Sir, to come to converse with you ; for I promise to myselfe that I may receive from you an excellent account of your progression in religion, & that you are entred into the experimental & secret way of it, which is that state of excellency

whither good persons use to arrive after a state of repentance & caution. My retirement in this solitary place hath been, I hope, of some advantage to me as to this state of religion, in which I am yet but a novice ; but by the goodnesse of God I see fine things before me whither I am contending. It is a great but a good worke, & I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, & to obtaine of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love & union with God, which is given to all those soules who are very deare to God. Sir, if it please God, I purpose to be in London in April next, where I hope for the comfort of conversing with you. In the meane time, be pleased to accept my thanks for your great kindnesse in taking care of me in that token you were pleased to leave with Mr. Martin. I am sorry the evil circumstances of the times made it any way afflictive or inconvenient. I had rather you should not have been burdened than that I should have received kindnesse on hard conditions to you. Sir, I shall not trouble your studies now, for I suppose you are very buisy there : but I shall desire the favour that I may know what you are now doing, for you cannot separate your affaires from being of concerne to,

Deare Sir,

Your very affectionate friend,

& humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

Portmore, Nov. 3, 1659.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Portmore, Feb. 10, 1659-60.

Honoured & deare Sir,

I received yours of Dec^r 2, in very good time ; but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it

pleased God, about that time, to lay his gentle hand upon me ; for I had beene, in the worst of our winter weather, sent for to Dublin by our late Anabaptist commissioners, & found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill : but in my return, had my ill redoubled & fixed : but it hath pleased God to restore my health, I hope *ad majorem Dei gloriam* ; & now that I can easily write, I return you my very hearty thanks for your very obliging letter, & particularly for the inclosed. Sir, the Apology¹ you were pleased to send me, I read both privately & heard read publikely with no little pleasure & satisfaction. The materials are worthy, & the dress is clean, & orderly, & beauteous ; & I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice : it is impossible but it must doe good to those guilty persons to whom it is not impossible to repent. Your Character² hath a great part of a worthy reward, that it is translated into a language in which it is likely to be read by very many *beaux esprits*. But that which I promise to mysele as an excellent entertainment, is your “Elysium Britannicum.” But, Sir, seeing you intend it to the purposes of piety as well as pleasure, why doe you not rather call it Paradisus than Elysium ; since the word is used by the Hellenish Jewes to signify any place of spiritual & immaterial pleasure, & excludes not the material & secular. Sir, I know you are such a *curieux*, & withal so diligent & inquisitive, that not many things of the delicacy of learning, relating to your subject, can escape you ; & therefore it would be great imprudence in me to offer my little mite to your already digested heape. I hope, ere long, to have the honour to waite on you, & to see some parts & steps of your progression : &

¹ Apology for the Royal Party. See Evelyn’s “Miscellaneous Writings,” 1825, 4to. p. 169.

² Character of England. See “Miscellaneous Writings,” p. 141.

then if I see I can bring any thing to your building, though but hair & stickes, I shall not be wanting in expressing my readinesse to serve & to honour you, & to promote such a worke, than which I thinke, in the world, you could not have chosen a more apt & a more ingenious.

Sir, I do really beare a share in your feares & your sorrowes for your deare boy. I doe and shall pray to God for him; but I know not what to say in such things. If God intends, by these clouds, to convey him & you to brighter graces & more illustrious glories respectively, I dare not, with too much passion, speake against the so great good of a person that is so deare to me, & a child that is so deare to you. But I hope that God will do what is best: & I humbly beg of him to choose what is that best for you both. As soon as the weather & season of the spring gives leave, I intend, by God's permission, to returne to England: & when I come to London with the first to waite on you, for whom I have so great regard, & from whom I have received so many testimonies of a worthy friendship, & in whom I know so much worthinesse is deposited.

I am, most faithfully & cordially,

Your very affectionate & obliged servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

To Dr. Wilkins,

*President of our Society at Gressham Coll:
(afterwards Dean of Ripon and Bishop of Chester.)*

S^r,

Though I suppose it might be a mistake that there was a meeting appoynted to-morrow (being a day of publique sollemnity and devotion), yet because I am uncertaine, and would not disobey y^r com'ands, I

here send you my trifling observations concerning the anatomy of trees, and their vegetative motion. It is certaine, as Dr. Goddard has shewed,¹ that a section of any tree made parallel to the horizon, will by the closenesse of the circles point to the North, and so consequently, if a perpendicular be drawne through them for the meridian, the rest of the cardinals, &c. found out; but this is not so universall, but that where strong reflections are made, as from walls, the warme fumes of dunghills, & especially if the southern side be shaded, &c. those ellipticall and hyperbolicall circles are sometimes very irregular; and I doubt not but by some art might be made to have their circles as orderly as those which we find in Brasile, Ebene, &c. which within a very little concenter by reason of the uniforme course of the Sun about them; which is doubtlesse the cause of their greater dilatation on the south part onely with us, when the pores are more open, and lesse constipated. The consideration whereof (though no where mention'd that I know) made the poet, giving advice concerning transplantations, to caution thus,

Quin etiam Cœli regionem in cortice signant,
 Ut quo quæque modo steterit, qua parte calores
 Austrinos tulerit, quæ terga obverterit axi,
 Restituant: adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.

And though Pliny neglect it as an unnecessary curiosity, I can by much experience confirme it, that not one tree in 100 would miscarry were it duly observed; for in some I have made triall of it even at Midsommer. But what I would add is touching the graine of many woods, and the reason of it which

¹ In his "Observations concerning the nature and similar parts of a Tree," which were afterwards published in folio, 1664. Dr. Jonathan Goddard was an eminent Physician, Botanist, and promoter of the Royal Society. He was born at Greenwich about 1617, and died in 1674.

I take to be the descent, as well as the ascent of moisture ; for what else becomes of that water which is frequently found in the cavities where many branches spread themselves at the topps of greate trees, especially pollards, unlesse (according to its naturall appetite) it sinke into the very body of the stem through the pores ? For example : in the Wallnut, you shall find when 'tis old, that the wood is rarely figur'd and marbled as it were, & therefore much more esteemed by joyners, &c. then the young, which is whiter & without any grains : for the raine distilling along the branches, where many of them come out in clusters together from the stem, sinks in, and is the cause of these markes ; for it is exceedingly full of pores. Do but plane a thin chipp off from one of these old trees, and interpose it 'twixt y^r eye and the light, and you shall perceive it full of innumerable holes. But above all conspicuous for these workes and damaskings, is the Maple (a finer sort whereof the Germans call *Air*, and therefore much sought after by the instrument makers) : 'tis notorious that this tree is full of branches from the very roote to the su'mite, by reason it bears no considerable fruite. These branches being frequently cutt, the head is the more surcharged with them, which, spreading like so many raies from a center, forme that cavity at the top of the stem whence they shoote, as contains a good quantity of water every time it raines : this sinking into the pores, as we hinted before, is compelled to diverte its course as it passes through the body of the tree, wherever it finds the knott of any of these branches which were cut off from the stem of the tree ; because their rootes not onely deeply penetrate towards the heart, but are likewise of themselves very hard and impervious : and the frequent obliquity of this course of the subsiding waters, by reason of these obstacles,

is the cause of those curious and rare undulations & workes which we find remarkable in this and other woods, whose branches grow thick from the stem.

S^r, I know not whether I have well explained my conception, but such as it is I offer it, and it was y^r com'ands I should do so, together with that Treatise or History of Chalcography, as part of the taske you have impos'd; but with this hope & humble request, that, knowing upon what other subject I was engaged before I had the honour to be elected one of this august Society, I may obtaine its indulgence, not to expect many other things from me 'till it be accomplish'd; rather that you will take all occasions which may contribute to my designe. It is there, S^r, that I have at large discours'd of the vegetation of plants, and upon that argument which S^r K. Digby and the rest so long discours'd at our last encounter, but it shall not be so in this paper, which is now at an end, &c.

Y^r &c.

Says-Court, 17 Feb. 1660.

To the Honourable Robert Boyle.

Says-Court, Sept. 13, 1661.

Sir,

I send you the receipt of the varnish, and believe it to be very exact, because it is so particular; and that I received it from the hand of a curious person, who, having made trial of it himself, affirms it to have succeeded. I send you also another trifle, which has a nearer relation to me, and you will easily pardon my indignation, however you pity the rest of my errors, to which there is superadded so great a presumption: not that I believe what I have written should produce the desired effects, but to indulge

my passion, and in hopes of obtaining a partial reformation; if, at least, his Majesty pursue the resentment which he lately expressed against this nuisance, since this pamphlet was prepared. Sir, I am your creditor for Schotti, and shall faithfully render it whenever your summons calls; my leisure has not yet permitted me to transcribe some things out of it, which concerns me on another subject; but if the detaining it longer be no prejudice to you, it is in a safe depositum. Sir, I have not bought two of your last books, & yet possibly I could render you some account of them. My thirst and impatience is too great to shew the least indifferency, when any thing of your's is to be had; this does not absolve you from making him a present who, it may be, takes no greater felicity in the world than to see his small library enriched with your illustrious works, & they to come to me *ex dono authoris*. Dearest Sir, pardon this innocent stratagem, and the presumption of,

Sir,

Your most faithful, & most obedient servant,

J. EVELYN.

Sir, I must take this opportunity to give you thanks for your great civilities to my cousin Baily, & to supplicate the continuance of your favour to him, as by which you will infinitely oblige an industrious and deserving gentleman.

From Dr. Jeremy Taylor.

Dublin, November 16, 1661.

Dear Sir,

Your owne worthinesse & the obligations you have so often pass'd upon me have imprinted in me so great a value & kindnesse to your person, that I

think myselfe not a little concerned in yourselfe & all your relations, & all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care & earnestnesse inquire into your health & the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shal we expect your Terrestrial Paradise; your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your owne hand, & makes me long for more. Sir, I & all that understand excellent fancy, language, & deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent Panegyric, which I saw & read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent an idea, for, as a father, in his son's face, so is a man's soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of publicke concernes & the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful employment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, & then I may returne againe. Royston, the bookseller, hath two sermons, and a little collection of rules for my clergy, which had beene presented to you if I had thought them fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

Dear Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love & deare regards to worthy Mr. Thurland: let me heare of him & his good lady, & how his son does. God blesse you & yours, him & his. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend,

JEREM. DUNENSIS.

To Tho. Chiffing,¹ Esq. Page of the back stairs to his Majesty and Keeper of his closet.

In answer to the laudable design of his Ma^{ty} for fit repositories of those precious Treasures & Curiosities com'itted to y^r charge, I conceive you may compleately martial them in a Catalogue (as there set forth). This were in truth a noble way to preserve his treasure intire; so as upon occasion to permit a sight of it to greate princes & curious strangers; for it is great pity it should not be made as famous as the Cabinet of the Duke of Florence & other foraign princes, which are only celebrated for [by] being more universally known, & not because his Ma^{ties} collection is not altogether as worthy, his Ma^{tie} being likewise himself so exquisite a judge, as well as possessor, of so many rare things as might render not onely Whitehall, but the whole nation, famous for it abroad.

If it be his Ma^{ty's} pleasure, I shall, whenever you call upon me, & that it may least importune his privacy, make the inventory of particulars.

To this I would have added, in another Register, the names & portraitures of all the exotic & rare beasts & fowls which have at any time been presented to his Ma^{ty}, & which are daily sent to his Paradise at St. James's Park.

¹ Thomas Chiffinch, of Northfleet, Esq. Keeper of the Jewels to King Charles II. Keeper of the King's Closet, and Comptroller of the Excise. He was born at Salisbury in 1600, and was brought to the Court of King Charles I. by Bishop Duppa. After the King's death, he, with his wife, went abroad to King Charles II. and continued with him till the Restoration. He died in 1666, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a monument erected to his memory. Hasted's Hist. of Kent, vol. i. p. 442.

*To my Lady Cotton.*¹

Madame,

It was by a visite which was made us this afternoon, that we heard how it had pleased God to dispose of y^e little sweete babe ; and, withall, how much the losse of it dos yet afflict you. Whatsoever concerns you in this kind is, Madame, a com'on diminution to the familie, and touches every particular of it ; but so as our resentiments hold proportion to the cause, and that the losse of one dos not take away the comfort and the contentment which we ought to have in those who are left ; since we must pretend to nothing here, but upon the conditions of mortalitie and ten thousand other accidents ; and that we may learne to place our felicities in our obedience to the will of God, which is allways y^e best, and to sacrifice our affections upon that altar, which can consecrate our very losses, and turne them to our greatest advantage. Madame, I have heard with infinite satisfaction how graciously God had restor'd you y^r health : why should you now impaire it againe by an excesse of griefe, which can recalle nothing that God has taken to himselfe in exchange without a kind of ingratitude ? There be some may haply sooth y^r Ladyship in this sensible part (which was the destruction of my deare Mother) ; but y^r Ladyship's discretion ought to fortifie you against it before it become habitual and dangerous. Remember that you have an husband who loves you intirely ; that you have other children who will neede your conduct ; that you have many friends, and a prosperous family. Pluck up y^r spirits then, and at once vanquish these hurtfull tendernesses. It is the vote of all that honor & love you ; it is what God requires of you, and what I conjure you to resolve upon ; and I

¹ Wife to his Brother Geo. Evelyn, of Wotton.

beseech y^r La^p, let this expresse bring us some fairer confidences of it, then the com'on report dos represent it to the grieve of,

Madame, y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 9 Sept. 1662.

To Mr. Vander Douse,

Grandson to y^e greate Janus Dousa.

S^r,

I have to the best of my skill translated y^r Relation of China : if you find the Argument omitted, it is for that I thought it superfluous, being almost as large as the text ; but I have yet left a sufficient space where you may (if you thinke good) insert it. In y^e mean time, it would be consider'd, whether this whole piece will be to the purpose, there having ben of late so many accurate descriptions of those countries in particular, as what Father Alvarez Semedo has publish'd in the Italian ;¹ Vincent Le Blanc in French ;² and Mandelslo in high Dutch ;³ not omitting the Adventures & Travels of Pinto in Spanish ;⁴ all of them now speaking the English language. At least I conceive that you might not do amisse to peruse their workes, and upon comparing of them with this piece of yours, to observe what there is more accurate and instruc-

¹ History of the great and renowned Monarchy of China ; translated from the Portuguese into English, by a Person of Quality ; with cuts. Folio. 1655.

² Voyages fameux du Sieur Vincent le Blanc, Marseillois. 4to, Paris, 1658.

³ Peregrinations from Persia into the East Indies, translated by John Davies. Folio.

⁴ Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, his Travels in the Kingdoms of Ethiopia, China, Tartaria, Cochin China, and a great part of the East Indies ; translated out of Portuguese into English by Henry Cogan. Folio. 1663.

tive ; least you otherwise seeme *actum agere*, as the word is : but this, Sir, I remit to your better judgement, who am,

S^r, y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 13: Sep^r: 1662.

*To Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Croone, Professor of Rhetorick, at Gresham College, London.*¹

S^r,

It has neither proceeded from the unmindfullnesse of y^r desires, or y^r deserts, that I had not long before this gratified y^r inclinations, in finding you out a condition, which it might become you to embrace, if you still continue y^r laudable curiosity, by wishing for some opportunity to travell, and see the world. There have pass'd occasions (and some which did neerely concerne my relations) when I might happily have engag'd you ; but having long had a greate ambition to serve you, since I had this in prospect, I rather chose to dispence with my owne advantages, that I might comply with yours. My worthy and most noble friend Mr. Henry Howard, has by my Co: Tuke signified to me his desires of some fit person to instruct and travell with his two incomparable children ; and I im'ediately suggested Mr. Croone to them, with such recommendations and civilities as were due to his merits, and as became me. This being cherefully embrac'd on their part, it will now be yours to second it. All I shall say for y^r present encouragement is but this : England shall never present you with an equal opportunity ; nor were it the least diminution that Mr. Croone, or indeede one of the best gentlemen of the nation, should have the

¹ He founded a course of Algebraic Lectures in seven colleges at Cambridge, and also a yearly anatomical Lecture in the Royal Society.

tuition of an heire to the Duke of Norfolke, (after the Royal Family,) the greatest Prince in it. But the title is not the thinge I would invite you to, in an age so universally deprav'd amongst our wretched nobility. You will here come into a most opulent worthy family, and in which I prognosticate (and I have it assur'd me) you shall make your fortune, without any further dependances: For the persons who governe there, have both the meanes to be very gratefull, and as generous a propensity to it as any family in England: Sir, if you thinke fit to lay hold on this occasion, I shall take a tyme to discourse to you of some other particulars which the limits of an hasty letter will not permit me to insert. I have ben told to leave this for you at the Colledge; because I was uncertaine of seeing you, and that I have promis'd to give my friends an accompt of its reception. If your affaires could so far dispense with you as to afford me an afternoones visite at my poore villa, I should with more liberty conferr with you about it, and in hope of that favour I remaine,

S^r, y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 11: July: 1663.

*To Dr. Pierce, President of Magdalen Coll. in Oxford;
& one of his Ma^{ties} Chaplaines in Ordinary.*

Re^d Sir,

Being not long since at Somerset-house, to do my duty to her Ma^{ty} the Queene Mother, I fortun'd to encounter D^r Goffe.¹ One of the first things he ask'd me was, whither I had seene M^r Cressy's² Reply to

¹ See vol. i. p. 16, and vol. ii. p. 143.

² Roman Catholic Doctrines no Novelties; or an Answer to Dr. Pierce's Court Sermon, miscalled, The Primitive Rule of Reformation. 8vo, 1663.

D^r Pierce's so much celebrated Sermon? I told him, I had heard much of it, but not as yet seene it: upon which he made me an offer to present me with one of the bookes, but being in hast, and with a friend, I easily excus'd his civility, that I could not well stay till he should come back from his lodging: in the meane time he gave no ordinary encomiums of y^r rare piece, which he exceedingly magnified, as beyond all answer; and to reinforce the triumph, he told me that you had written a letter to some friend of y^{rs} (a copy whereof he believed he should shortly produce) wherein (after you had express'd y^r greate resentment that some of y^e Bishops had made you their property, in putting you upon that ungratefull argument) you totally declin'd to engage any farther in y^e controversy: intimating that you would leave it at the Bishops dores, and trouble your selfe no more with it. This (or words to this effect) being spoken to my selfe, and to some others who stood by, would have weighed more with me, had I not been as well acquainted with these kind of artifices to gaine proselytes by, as of your greater discretion never to have have written such a Letter, and abilities to vindicate what you have publish'd, when you should see y^r time. Nor had I likely thought more of it, had not my Lord of Canterbury, the Bp: of Winchester, together with my Lord Chancelor (to whom upon some occasion of private discourse, I recounted the passage) expressly injoynd me to give you notice of it; because they thought it did highly concerne you; and that you would take it civilly from me. And, S^r, I have don it faithfully; but with this humble request, that (unlesse there be very greate cause for it) you will be tender of mentioning by what hand y^r intelligence comes; because it may do me some injury.

S^r, I am perfectly assur'd, that you will do both

y^rselfe and the Church of England that right which becomes you upon this occasion. I will not say that the burthen ought to be cast upon y^r shoulders alone ; but I will pronounce it a greater marke of y^r charity, and zeale, and such as intitles you to the universal obligation which all men haue to you ; upon confidence whereof I satisfie myselfe you will soone dismantle this douty battery, and assert what you haue gain'd so gloriously.

Thus I discharge my duty, in obedience to their com'ands. But it is upon another account that I was not displeas'd with having an opportunity by this occasion to expresse my thankes & great acknowledgements to you, for the present you made me of that y^r incomparable Sermon, and which in my opinion is sufficiently impregnable ; but something must be don by these buisy men, to support their credit, though at the irreparable expence of truth and ingenuity. The Epistle before Mr. Cressy's papers dos not want confidence : and we are very tame whiles we suffer our Church to be thus treated by such as being once her sons did so unworthily desert her. But pardon this indignation. I am,

R^d S^r,

Y^r most, &c.

Says-Court, 20 Aug. 1663.

To the Honourable Robert Boyle.

Says-Court, Nov. 23, 1664.

Sir,

The honour you design me by making use of that trifle which you were lately pleas'd to command an account of, is so much greater than it pretends to merit, as indeed it is far short of being worthy your acceptance : but if by any service of mine in that

other business, I may hope to contribute to an effect the most agreeable to your excellent and pious nature, it shall not be my reproach that I did not my best endeavour to oblige it. I do every day, both at London and at home, put S^r Richard in mind of this suppliant's case; and, indeed, he needs no monitor, myself being witness that he takes all occasions to serve him in it; nor wants there any dispositions (as far as I can perceive), but one single opportunity only, the meeting of my Lord Privy Seal (who, for two or three Council days, has been indisposed, and not appeared), to expedite his request; there being a resolution (and which Sir Richard promises shall not slacken), both to discharge the poor man's engagements here, and afford him a competent viaticum.

As for that sacred work you mention, it is said there is a most authentic copy coming over, the laudable attempt of this person being not so fully approved. This is, in short, the account I have, why the impression is retarded. I should else esteem it one of the most fortunate adventures of my life, that by any industry of mine I might be accessary in the least to so blessed an undertaking.

If my book of architecture do not fall into your hands at Oxon, it will come with my apology, when I see you at London; as well as another part of the *Mystery of Jesuitism*, which (with some other papers concerning that iniquity) I have translated, and am now printing at Royston's, but without my name.—So little credit there is in these days in doing any thing for the interest of religion.

I know not whether it becomes me to inform you, that it has pleased his Majesty to nominate me a Commissioner to take care of the sick and wounded persons during this war with our neighbours: but so it is, that there being but four of us designed for this very troublesome and sad employment, all the

ports from Dover to Portsmouth, Kent, and Sussex, fall to my district alone, and makes me wish a thousand times I had such a colleague as Mr. Boyle, who is wholly made up of charity, and all the qualifications requisite to so pious a care. But I cannot wish you so much trouble, the prospect of it would even draw pity from you, as well in my behalf, as for the more miserable, who foresee the confusion and importunities of it, by every article of our busy instructions. But the King has laid his positive commands on me, and I am just now going towards Dover, &c. to provide for mischief. Farewel, sweet repose, books, gardens, and the blessed conversation you are pleased to allow, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and most obedient servant,
J. EVELYN.

P.S. Mr. Goldman's Dictionary is that good and useful book which I mentioned to you.

Here is Mr. Stillingfleet's new piece in vindication of my Lord of Canterbury's. I have but little dipped into it as yet; it promises well, and I very much like the epistle; nor is the style so perplexed as his usually was.

Dr. Mer. Causabon, I presume, is come to your hands, being a touch upon the same occasion.

One Rhea¹ has published a very useful and sincere book, concerning the culture of flowers, &c. but it does in nothing reach my long since attempted design of that entire subject, with all its ornaments and accessories, which I had shortly hoped to perfect, had God given me opportunity.

Your servant, my Wife, most humbly kisseth your hands, as I do Dr. Barlow's, &c.

¹ Q. ? the celebrated Ray.

To Doct^r Pierce, &c.

S^r,

I receiv'd y^r favour of the first of this moneth wth very different passions, whiles in some periods you giue me reasons so convincing why you should rather consult y^r health, and gratifie y^r charge, & personal concernements, than reply to impertinent bookes ; and in others againe make such generous and noble offers, that the Church of England, and the cause which is now dishonor'd, should not suffer through y^r silence : and I had (according to y^r com'ands) made my addresses to those ho^{ble} persons with something of what you had instructed me, had either my Lord of Winchester, or my L: Chancellor been in towne. Since I received y^r lett^r my L: of Winchester is indeede gone to Farnham some few days past ; but I was detain'd by speciall buisnesse in y^e country 'til this very moment, when coming to London on purpose to waite on him, I miss'd him unfortunately, and unexpectedly. In the meane time, I was not a little rejoyc'd at something my Ld: of Salisbury did assure me, of some late kind intercourse betweene you and y^r Visitor, to the no small satisfaction of all those that love and honor you here.

In pursuance of y^r farther injunction, I was this very morning with D^r Goffe : after a short ceremony we touch'd upon Cressy's pamphlet : He tells me there are eight sheetes more printing (by a Rev^d Father of y^e Society, as he named him), who has put M^r Cressy's Rhapsody into mode and figure, that so it might do y^e worke amongst scholars, as it was like to do it wth his illiterate proselytes. Upon this I tooke occasion to remind him of y^e lett^r which he lately pretended you had written, intimating y^r resolution not to reply. After some pause he told me that was a mistake, and y^t he heard it was onely a

friend of yours which writt so. Whither he suspected I came a birding, or no, I cannot be satisfied, but he now blench'd what before (I do assure you) he affirm'd to me concerning y^r owne writing that lett^r. This is the infelicity (and I haue observ'd it in more then one) that when men abandon their religion to God, they take their leave also of all ingenuity towards men. And what could I make of this shuffling, and caution, now turn'd to a mistake, & an heare-say? but so it seemes was not that of y^r being offended with the Bishops for the ingratefull taske they put upon you, which he often repeated; and the difference 'twixt you and y^r Visitor:—so after a short velitation, we parted. S^r, I have nothing more to add to y^r trouble, then that I still persist in my supplication, and that you would at last breake through all these discouragements and objections for y^e publiq benefit. It is true, men deserve it not; but the Church, which is dearer to you then all their contradictions can be grievous, requires it. You can (in the interim) govern a disorderly College which calls for y^r assiduous care; but so dos no lesse the needes of a despis'd Church; nor ought any in it concerne themselves so much as to this particular, without being uncivill to you: though (I confesse) after you have once chastis'd this insolence, no barking of the currs should provoke you for the future: S^r, I do not use a quarter of those arguments which y^r friends here suggest, why you ought to gratifie the Church by standing in this gapp; because I am confident you perfectly discern them; and that though some particular persons may have unjustly injur'd you, yet she has been kind, and indulgent; and in a cause which concernes either her honor or veracity, it will be glorious (not to say gratefull) you should vindicate her wrongs. You are not the onely subject which that academiq Jack-pudding has reproach'd more

bitterly personally : The drunkards made a song of holy David, yet still he daunc'd before the arke of God, and would be more vile. What are we Christians for? I do assure you, there is nothing I have a greater scorne & indignation against, then these wretched scoffers, and I looke upon our neglect of severely punishing them as an high defect in o^r politiques, and a forerunner of something very funest. I would to God vertue and sobriety were more in reputation : but we shall turne plainly barbarians, if all good men be discourag'd. S^r, you are of a greater mind than not to despise this. *Fa pùr bene e lascia dire.* But I run into extravagances, and I beseech you to pardon my zeale, and all other the impertinences of, S^r, y^r, &c.

Lond. 17th Sept^r. 1663.

*To Mr. Sprat, Chaplaine to the Duke of Buckingham, afterwards Bishop of Rochester.*¹

Upon receipt of the D^{rs} letter, and the hint of y^r designe, which I receiv'd at Oxford in my returne from Cornebery, I su'moned such scatter'd notices as I had, & which I thought might possibly serve you in some particulars relating to the person and condition of Sorbiere.

His birth was in Orange, where he was the sonn of a Protestant, a very indigent and poore man ; but however making a shift to give him some education as to letters, he design'd him for a minister, and procur'd him to be pedagogue to a cadet of Mons^r le Compte de la Suze, in whose family he liv'd easily enough, till being at length discover'd to be a ram-

¹ This letter alludes to Mons. Sorbiere's "Voyage to England," then just published ; and also to Observations on the same Voyage by Dr. Sprat.

pant Socinian, he was discharg'd of employment, but in revenge whereof ('tis reported) he turn'd apostat, & renounc'd his religion, which had been hitherto Huguenot. I forgot to tell you that before this he obtain'd to be made a schoolemaster to one of the classes in y^t citty; but that promotion was likewise quickly taken from him upon the former suspition. He has pass'd through a thousand shapes to ingratiate himselfe in the world, & after having been an Aristarchus, physitian (or rather mountebanq) philosopher, critic, & polititian (to which last he thought himselfe worthily arriv'd by a version of some heterodox pieces of M^r Hobbes), the late Cardinal Mazarin bestow'd on him a pittifull canonicat at Avignon worth about 200 crownes p^r ann. w^{ch} being of our money almost 50 pounds, is hardly the sallary of an ordinary curat: but for this yet he underwent the basest drudgery of a sycophant in flattering y^e Cardinal upon all occasions the most sordidly to be imagin'd, as where I can shew you him speaking of this fourb for one of the most learned persons of the age. He styles himself Historiograph du Roy, the mighty meede of the co'monest Gazetiere, as that of Conseiller du Roy is of every trifling petifoger, w^{ch} is in France a very despicable qualification. It is certaine that by some servile intelligences he made shift to skrew him selfe into y^e acquaintance of many persons of quality, at whose tables he fed, & where he entertain'd them with his impertinences. A greate favourite of our late republiq he was, or rather the vilany of Cromwell, whose expedition at sea against Holland he infinitely extolls, with a prediction of his future glorious atchievements, to be seene in an epistle of his to Mons. de Courcelles, 1652, and upon other occasions, not to omitt his inciting of our Roman Catholiques to improve their condition under his Ma^{tie} by some effort, which smells of a rebell

spirit, even in this relation which he presumes to dedicat to y^e French King.

Thus as to y^e person of y^t man & his co'munications: for y^e rest in which this audacious delator sufficiently exposes himselfe to y^r mercy, I forbear to add; unlesse it be to put you in mind of what occurs to me in relation to your vindicating my L. Chancelor, whom all the world knows he has most injuriously vilified; and you haue an ample field to proceede on, by comparing his birth & education wth that of his Cardinal Patron, whom he so excessively magnifies, & even makes a demi-god.

My L: Chancelor¹ is a branch of y^t antient & honorable family of Norbery in Cheshire as it is celebrated by M^r. Camden in his *Britannia*, and so famous for y^e long robe, that an uncle's son of his present Lo^p: came to be no lesse a man than L: Chiefe Justice of England not long since, w^{ch} dignity runs parallel with their Premier President de Paris, one of the most considerable charges of that kingdome. Nor has this person ascended to this deserved eminency without greate & signal merits, having passed through so many superior offices; as Chancellor of y^e Exchequer, Privie Councillor, Ambass^r Extraordinary, &c. not to mention his early engagement wth his Ma^{tie} Charles y^e I. in a period of so greate defection; the divers weighty affaires he has successfully manag'd, fidelity to y^e present King, his eloquent tongue, dextrous and happy pen, facetious conversation & obliging nature, all of them the products of a free & ingenious education, which was both at the University and Inns of Court, now crown'd with an experience & adresse so consum'at, that it were impossible this satyrist should have hit on a more unreasonable mistake, than when he refin'd upon the qualifications of this illustrious Minister. You will meete in a certaine lett^r of the

¹ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

old Kings to his consort y^e Q. Mother, that his Ma^{tie} long since had him in his thoughts for Secretary of State. But these topics were infinite, and 'tis no wonder that he should thus defame a Chancellor, who has been so bold as to dare to censure a crown'd head, and to call in question the procedure of the K. of Denmark about the affaire of Cornlitz Ulefield,¹ for which Mons^r l'Abbé de Paulmyr has perstring'd him to y^e purpose, and publish'd it in French, together with some observations of an English Gent. upon the relation of Sorbiere, in w^{ch} those unworthy & malicious imputations of *lascheté* & bassesse in y^e nation is perfectly vindicated, even by citations onely of their owne French authors, as namely André du Chesne, du Verdier, Philippe de Commynes, and others of no meane name & estimation amongst their most impartial historians, sufficient to assert the courage & gallantry of the English, without mentioning the brave impressions the nation has made even into y^e very bowells of their country, which after the winning of severall signal battails, they kept in subjection some hundreds of yeares.

You cannot escape the like choice which he made, by which to judge & pronounce of the worth of English bookes, by the learned collection he carried over with him of y^e workes of that thrice noble Marchionesse,² no more then of his experience of the English dyet by the pottage he eate at my L. of Devonshires : but it is much after the rate of his other observations ; or else he had not pass'd so desultorily our Universities & the Navy, wth a thousand other particulars worthy the notice & not to be excused in one pretending to make relations ; to omitt his subtil

¹ Count Cornelius Ulefield Oxenstiern, Danish Prime Minister.

² Margaret Cavendish, Marchioness, afterwards Duchess of Newcastle, a very voluminous writer both in verse and prose. There are fourteen volumes of her works in thin folios.

reflections on matters of state, & meddling with things he had nothing to do with : such as were those false & presumptuous suggestions of his that the Presbyterians were forsooth the sole restorers of y^e King to his throne, and the palpable ignorance of our Historiograph Royal, where he pretends to render an account of divers antient passages relating to the English Chronicle : the jurisdiction and legislative power of Parliaments, which he mingles & compares with that of y^e Kings to celebrate & qualifie his politicks : upon all which you have infinite advantages. It is true he was civilly received by the Royal Society, as a person who had reco'mended him selfe to them by pretending he was secretary to an assembly of learned men formerly meeting at Mons^r. Monmors at Paris ; so as he had been plainly barbarous not to have acknowledged it by the mention he makes ; whiles those who better know whose principles the Mushroom¹ is addicted to, must needs suspect his integrity ; since there lives not on y^e earth a person who has more disoblig'd it.

S^r, I am, &c.

Says-Court, 31 Octob. 1664.

P. S.

I know not how you may have design'd to publish y^r reflexions upon this disingenuous Traveller ; but it would certainly be most co'municative & effectual in Latine, the other particular of his relation co'ming onely to those who understand the French, in which language it is already going to be printed.

¹ Mr. Hobbes.

To my L^d Viscount Cornebery.

My Lord,

Being late come home, imagine me turning over y^r close printed memoires, and shrinking up my shoulders; yet wth a resolution of surmounting the difficulty, animated with my L^d Chancellors & y^r Lo^{ps} com'ands, whom I am perfectly dispos'd to serve, even in the greatest of drudgeries, the translation of bookes.¹ But why call I this a drudgery? who would not be proud of the service? By the slight tast of it, I find God & the King concern'd, and I will in due tyme endeavour to p'sent y^r Lord^p & the world with the fruites of my obedience, cherefully, & with all due regards: nor is it small in my esteeme that God directs you to make use of me in any thing which relates to y^e Church, though in my secular station. I began indeede (as y^r Lo^p well remembers) with that Essay on St. Chrysostome some yeares since upon that consideration, though prompted by a lugubrious occasion, such a one (though in no respect so greate a one) as what I but too sensibly perceive afflicts my L^d y^r father; for as I last beheld his countenance, in thought I saw the very shaft transfixing him; though the greatnesse of his minde, and pious resignation² suffer him to do nothing weakely, and with passion.

Besides the divine precepts, & his Lo^{ps} greate example, I could never receive any thing from philosophy that was able to add a graine to my courage upon these irremediesse assaults like that Enchiri-

¹ Mysterie of Jesuitisme, & its pernicious consequences as it relates to Kings & States, w^h I published this yeare.

² Upon y^e death of his sonne Edward, a very brave & hopefull young man.

dion & little weapon of Epictetus, *Nunquam te quicquam perdidisse dicito, sed reddidisse*, says he : *Filius obijt? redditus est* ; it is in his 15th chap. Repeate it all to my Lord, and to y^r selfe ; you cannot imagine what that little target will encounter ; I never go abroad without it in my pocket. What an incomparable guard is that τὰ στίχ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν ! cap. 1. where he discourses of the things which *are* & *are not* in our power : I know, my Lord, you employ y^r retirements nobly ; weare this defensive for my sake, I had almost sayd this Christian office.

But, my Lord, I am told, we shall have no Lent indicted this yeare. I acknowledge, for all D^r Gunning,¹ that I much doubt of its apostolical institution : but I should be heartily sorry a practise so neere to it, so agreeable to antiquity, so usefull to devotion, and in sum so confirm'd by o^r laws, should now faile, & sinke, that his Ma^{tie} and his laws are restor'd. I know not what subtile & political reasons there may be : It were better, flesh should be given away for a moneth or two to the poore in some greate proportion, and that particular men should suffer, than a sanction & a costome so decent should be weaken'd, not to say abrogated ; believe 'twill not be so easy a thing to reasume a liberty of this nature, w^{ch} gratifies so many humours of all sorts. Because God gives us plenty, must we always riot ? If those who sit at the helme harken to the murmurs of impertinent & avaritious men, pray God they never have cause to repent of the facility when 'tis too late. I know religious fasting dos not so much consist in y^e species and quality as the quantity ; nor in the duration, as the devotion : I have always esteemed abstinence *à tanto* beyond the fulfilling of periods & quadragesimas ; nor is this of ours every where

¹ Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely. He died July 6, 1684, æt. 71.

observ'd alike by Christians ; but since all who are under that appellation do generally keepe it where Christ is nam'd (I do not meane among the Romanists alone) a few imperfect reformers excepted ; methinks a reverend & antient costome should not so easily be cancel'd ; for so I look on it, if once we neglect the indiction. But were that for one fortnight, with a strict proclamation, & lesse indulgence to the *faulty* (as they call that shop of iniquity) and some other pretenders to liberty ; in my opinion it would greatly become the solemn, & aproching station of the Passion-weeke : and I would to God it were reduced but to that, that the irksomenesse might not deterr the more delicat, nor the prohibition those whose interest it is to sell flesh. We in this island have so natural a pretence to mingle this concerne of devotion into that of the state, that they might be both preserv'd without the least shadow of superstition ; and if once o' fishery were well retriev'd (than which nothing could be more popular, nor indeare the person who should establish it) the profit of that alone would soone create proselytes of the most zealous of our carnivorous Samaritans. Why should there be an interruption of our laws for a yeare, to the infinite disadvantage of the Church of England in many regards ?

My L: You are a pious person, and the Lenten abstinence minds me of another incongruity that you Parliament-men will I hope reforme, & that is the frequency of our theatrical pastimes during that indiction. It is not allow'd in any city of Christendom so much as in this one towne of London, where there are more wretched & obscene plays permitted than in all the world besides. At Paris 3 days, at Rome 2 weekly, & at the other cittys of Florence, Venice, &c. but at certaine jolly periods of the yeare, and that not without some considerable emolument

to y^e publique ; whiles our enterludes here are every day alike ; so as the ladys & the gallants come reaking from the play late on Saturday night, to their Sondag devotions ; the ideas of the farce possesses their fantasies to the infinite prejudice of devotion, besides the advantages it gives to our reprochfull blasphemers. Could not Friday, & Saturday be spar'd ; or, if indulg'd, might they not be employ'd for the support of the poore, or as well the maintenance of some worke-house, as a few debauch'd comedians ? What if they had an hundred pound p^r ann. lesse com'ing in ; this were but policy in them ; more than they were borne too, & the onely meanes to consecrate (if I may use the tearme) their scarce allowable impertinences. If my Lord Chancellor would be but instrumental in reforming this one exorbitancy, it would gaine both the King and his Lo^p multitudes of blessings. You know, my L^d, that I (who have written a play¹ & am a scurvy poet too some times) am far from Puritanisme ; but I would have no reproch left our adversaries in a thing which may so conveniently be reform'd. Plays are now wth us become a licentious excesse, & a vice, & neede severe censors that should looke as well to their morality, as to their lines and numbers. Pardon this invective, my L: nothing but my perfect affection for y^r person & y^r vertue could have made me so intemperate ; & nothing but my hopes that you will do the best you can to promote the greate interest of piety, & things worthy y^r excellent opportunities, could have render'd me thus prodigal of my confidence. Season my L^d y^r father with these desiderata to our consu'mat felicity ; but still with submission & under protection for the liberty I

¹ *Thyrsander*, a tragi-comedy, mentioned in Evelyn's list of MSS., which he would "write out faire and reforme if he had leasure."

assume; nor let it appeare presumption irremissible, if I add, that as I owne my Lord o' illustrious Chancellor for my patron & benefactor; so I pay him as tender & awfull respect (abstracted from his greatness & the circumstances of that) as if he had a natural as he had a virtual & just dominion over me; so as my gratitude to him as his beneficiary, is even adopted into my religion, and 'till I renounce that, I shall never lessen of my duty; for I am ready to professe it, I have found more tendernes, & greater humanity from the influences of his L^{op} than from all the relations I have now in the world, wherein yet I have many deare & worthy friends. My L. pardon againe this excesse, which I sweare to you, proceedes from the honest, & inartificial gratitude of,

My Lord,
Y^r &c.

London, 9 Feb. 1664-65.

To Sr Tho. Clifford

(Afterwards Lord High Treasurer).

S^r,

Upon receipt of yours of the 17th instant, I repair'd to my L. Arlington, and from him to his Ma^{tie}, who on sight of y^r lett^r added his particular com'ands, that upon arrival of y^e prisoner I should im'ediately bring young Everse to him, and that then he would instruct me farther how he would have him treated; w^h I perceive will be wth greate respect, and some thinke wth liberty: for the other Captaine, that I should pursue his R^l Highnesses directions: and in order to this, I haue com'anded my Martial to be ready. I am sorry we are like to haue so many wounded men in their company, but I have taken all the care I can for their accom'odation: I pray send me a list of the

names & qualities of our prisoners, they being so apt to contrive & forme stories of themselves, that they may pass for Embdeners or Danes : I thanke God all our affaires here are in good order : I did yesterday repaire to y^e Commiss^{rs} of the Navy to remove the obstruction w^{ch} hinder'd our Receiver from touching the effects of o^r Privy Seale, they pretending a defect in the order, w^{ch} I have been faine to carry back to y^e Council : Coll. Reymes writes for 700^l : S^r, here haue ben an host of women, making moane for their losse in the unfortunat London :¹ I have wth much artifice appeas'd them for y^e present, but they are really objects of much pitty ; and I have counsel'd them to make choyce of some discreete person to represent to us their respective losses & expectations, that we may consider their cases without clamor and disturbance. S^r, I am ravish'd to heare o^r fleetè is in so flourishing a condition, I pray God continue it and give you all successe. I would beg the presentment of my most humble duty to his Royall Hig^{ss}, and that you will grace wth y^r more particular com'ands,

S^r, y^r &c.

London, 2 Apr. 1665.

To Dr (afterwards Sir) Christopher Wren, &c.

S^r,

You may please to remember that some tyme since I begg'd a favour of you in behalfe of my little boy : he is now susceptible of instruction, a pleasant, and (though I speake it) a most ingenious and pregnant child. My designe is to give him good education ; he is past many initial difficulties, and conquers all things with incredible industry : do

¹ The London frigate, blown up by accident, with above 200 men. See vol. ii. pp. 179, 182.

me that eternal obligation, as to enquire out and recom'end me some young man for a preceptor. I will give him £20 per ann. sallary, and such other accom'odations as shall be no ways disagreeable to an ingenuous spirit; and possibly I may do him other advantages: in all cases he will find his condition with us easy, his scholar a delight, & the conversation not to be despised: this obliges me to wish he may not be a morose, or severe person, but of an agreeable temper. The qualities I require are, that he be a perfect Grecian, and if more than vulgarly mathematical, so much the more accomplish'd for my designe: myne owne defects in y^e Greeke tongue and knowledge of its usefulness, obliges me to mention that particular with an extraordinary note: in sum I would have him as well furnish'd as might be for the laying of a permanent & solid foundation: the boy is capable beyond his yeares; and if you encounter one thus qualified, I shall receive it amongst the greate good fortunes of my life that I obtain'd it by the benefit of y^r friendship, for which I have ever had so perfect an esteeme. There is no more to be said, but that when you have found the person, you direct him im'ediately to me, that I may receive, and value him.

S^r, I am told by S^r Jo: Denham that you looke towards France this somer: be assur'd I will charge you wth some addresses to friends of mine there, that shall exceedingly cherish you; and though you will stand in no neede of my recom'endations, yet I am confident you will not refuse the offer of those civilities which I shall bespeake you.

There has layne at D^r Needham's a copy of ye Parallel¹ bound up for you, & long since design'd

¹ "A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern," written by Roland Freart, sieur de Cambray, and translated by Mr. Evelyn.

you, which I shall entreate you to accept; not as a recompence of your many favours to mee, much lesse a thing in the least assistant to you (who are y^rselfe a master), but as a toaken of my respect, as the booke itselfe is of the affection I beare to an art which you so happily cultivate.

Dear S^r, I am

Y^r &c.

Says-Court, 4 Apr. 1665.

To his Grace the Duke of Albemarle.

May it please y^r Grace,

Being here at Douer for y^e examining & auditing my accoumpts, as one of his Ma^{ties} Commissioners in this Kentish district; and finding that o^r prisoners at the Castle here, since their late attempt to escape through y^e Magazine (over which till then they had a very spacious & convenient roome to lodge in) are now for want of accom'odation necessitated to be kept in a very strait place, by meanes whereof they grow miserably sick, and are indeede reduced to a sad condition, which cannot be remedied without extraordinary inconvenience to y^e Lieutenant: My most humble suite to y^r Grace is, that you will be pleas'd to give order that they be conveyed to Chelsey Colledge; and the rather, that there being no greate number of them, it will be hardly worth the while & charge to maintaine officers for them here & particular guards: the condition of the poor men (who suffer for y^e attempt of their more daring fellowes) is very deplorable, nor can it be prevented without enlargement of their quarters, which the Governor cannot spare them without danger. I have already inform'd y^r Grace how much we suffer by y^e scruples of those vessells, who refuse to

transport our recover'd men to y^e fleete, which makes me againe to supplicate y^r Grace's fresh orders ; it would infinitely conduce to his Ma^{ties} service : but of this, as of severall other particulars I shall render y^r Grace a more ample account at my returne to London ; where I shall not faile to do my duty as becomes,

May it please y^r Grace,
Y^r Grace's, &c.

Dover, 30 May, 1665.

To S^r Thomas Clifford.

S^r,

I was in precinct for my journey when y^r lett^r arriv'd, w^{ch} imparted to us that most glorious victory, in which you have had the honor to be a signal atchiever.¹ I pray God we may improve as it becomes us : his Royall Highn^{ss} being safe, becomes a double instance of rejoyceing to us ; and I do not know that ever I beheld a greater and more sollem expression of it, unless it were that on his Ma^{ties} Restauration, than this whole City testified the last night, & which I cannot figure to you without hyperbolies. I am heartily sorry for those heros that are fallen, though it could not have been on a more transcendant occasion. S^r, I co'municated y^r lett^r to my L^d: Arlington, and to his Ma^{tie}, who read it greedily. My greatest solicitude is now how to dispose of y^e prisoners in case you should be necessitated to put them in at the Downes, in order to which my Lord Duke of Albemarle has furnished me with 400 foote & a troop of horse, to be com'anded by me for guards if neede require ; & I am just going to put all things in order. His Grace concludes wth me, y^t Dover Castle would be the most

¹ For an account of this victory, see vol. ii. p. 281.

convenient place for their custody, but would by no meanes invade his R: Hig^{sses} particular province there without his Hig^{sses}: consent, & therefore advises me to write his High^{ss}: for positive co'mands to the Lieutenant. It is therefore my humble request that you will move him therein, it being of so greate importance at this time, & not onely for his Castle of Dover, but for the forts likewise neere it; & that (besides my owne guards) he would be pleas'd y^r a competent number of land souldiers might be sent with them from on board, to prevent all accidents, till they come safe to me; for it was so likewise suggested by his Grace, who dismiss'd me wth this expedient: "Mr. Evelyn," says he, "when we have fill'd all the goailes in y^e country wth our prisoners, if they be not sufficient to containe them, as they sent our men to y^e East Indies last yeare, we will send them to the West this yeare by a just retaliation." S^r, I thinke fit to let you understand, that I have 3 days since obtayn'd of the Council a Privy Seale, w^{ch} I moved might be £20,000, in regard of y^e occasion; together wth the use & disposal of the Savoy-Hospitall (w^h I am now repairing and fitting up, having given order for 50 beds to be new made, & other utensils), all which was graunted. I also obtain'd an Order of Councill for power both to add to our servants, & to reward them as we should see cause. His Ma^{tie}: has sent me 3 chests of linnen, which he was pleas'd to tell me of himselfe before I knew they were gon; so mindfull & obliging he is, that nothing may be wanting. S^r, have no more to add, but the addresses of my most humble duty to his Royal Hig^{ss}: & my services to M^r. Coventry from,

S^r, y^r &c.

Paynters Hall, Lond. 16 June, 1665.

To S^r Peter Wyche, Knt.¹

S^r,

This crude paper (which beggs y^r pardon) I should not have presum'd to transmit in this manner, but to obey y^r co'mands, and to save the imputation of being thought unwilling to labour, though it be but in gathering straw. My greate infelicity is, that the meeting being on Tuesdays in y^e afternoone, I am in a kind of despaire of ever gratifying myne inclinations, in a conversation w^h I so infinitely honor, & that would be so much to mine advantage; because the very houre interferes wth an employment, w^h being of publiq concernement, I can in no way dispense with: I mention this to deplore myne owne misfortune onely, not as it can signifie to any losse of yours; w^h cannot be sensible of so inconsiderable a member. I send you notwithstanding these indigested thoughts, and that attempt upon Cicero, w^{ch} you enjoin'd me.

I conceive the reason both of additions to, and the corruption of the English language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes; namely, from victories, plantations, frontieres, staples of com'erce, pedantry of schooles, affectation of travellers, translations, fancy and style of Court, vernility & mincing of citizens, pulpits, political remonstrances, theatres, shopps, &c.

The parts affected wth it we find to be the accent, analogy, direct interpretation, tropes, phrases, and the like.

I. I would therefore humbly propose, that there might first be compil'd a Gram'ar for the præcepts; which (as did the Roman, when Crates transferr'd the art to that city, follow'd by Diomedes, Priscianus, and

¹ Chairman of a Committee appointed by the Royal Society to consider of the improvement of the English tongue.

others who undertooke it) might only insist on the rules, the sole meanes to render it a learned, & learnable tongue :

2. That with this a more certaine Orthography were introduc'd, as by leaving out superfluous letters, &c. : such as *o* in woomen, people ; *u* in honour ; *a* in reproach, *ugh* in though, &c.

3. That there might be invented some new periods, and accents, besides such as our gram'arians & critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modifie the pronounciation of sentences, & to stand as markes before hand how the voice & tone is to be govern'd ; as in reciting of playes, reading of verses, &c. for the varying the tone of the voyce, and affections, &c.

4. To this might follow a Lexicon or collection of all the pure English words by themselves ; then those w^h are derivative from others, with their prime, certaine, and natural signification ; then, the symbolical : so as no innovation might be us'd or favour'd ; at least 'till there should arise some necessity of providing a new edition, & of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

5. That in order to this, some were appointed to collect all the technical words ; especialy those of the more generous employments : as the author of the "*Essaies des Merveilles de la Nature, et des plus nobles Artifices,*" has don for the French ; Francis Junius and others have endeavor'd for the Latine : but this must be gleaned from shops, not bookes ; & has ben of late attempted by Mr. Moxon.¹

6. That things difficult to be translated or express'd, and such as are as it were, inco'mensurable one to another : as determinations of weights and measures ; coines, honors, national habits, armes, dishes, drinkes, municipal constitutions of courts ; old, and abrogated costomes, &c. were better interpreted

¹ In the second volume of his "*Mechanick Exercises.*"

than as yet we find them in dictionaries, glossaries, and noted in the lexicon.

7. That a full catalogue of exotic words, such as are daily minted by our *Logodædali*, were exhibited, and that it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them current, *ut Civitate donentur*; since without restraining that same *indomitam novandi verba licentiam*, it will in time quite disguise the language: there are some elegant words introduc'd by physitians chiefly and philosophers, worthy to be retained; others, it may be, fitter to be abrogated; since there ought to be a law, as well as a liberty in this particular. And in this choyce, there would be some reguard had to the well sounding, and more harmonious words, and such as are numerous, and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so recommend themselves at the very first sight as it were; others, which (like false stones) will never shine, in whatever light they be placed; but embase the rest. And here I note, that such as have lived long in Universities doe greatly affect words and expressions no where in use besides, as may be observed in Cleaveland's Poems for Cambridg: and there are also some Oxford words us'd by others, as I might instance in severall.

8. Previous to this it would be enquir'd what particular dialects, idiomes, and proverbs were in use in every several county of England; for the words of y^e present age being properly the *vernacula*, or classic rather, special reguard is to be had of them, and this consideration admits of infinite improvements.

9. And happily it were not amisse, that we had a collection of y^e most quaint and courtly expressions, by way of *florilegium*, or phrases distinct from the proverbs: for we are infinitely defective as to civil addresses, excuses, & formes upon suddaine and unpremeditated (though ordinary) encounters: in which

the French, Italians, & Spanyards have a kind of natural grace & talent, which furnishes the conversation, and renders it very agreeable : here may come in synonymes, homoinymes, &c.

10. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of words, which goe in & out like the mode & fashion ; bookes would be consulted for the reduction of some of the old layd-aside words and expressions had formerly *in delicijs* ; for our language is in some places sterile and barren, by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it ; and therefore such places should be new cultivated, and enrich'd either wth the former (if significant) or some other : for example, we have hardly any words that do so fully expresse the French *clinguant*, *naïveté*, *ennuy*, *bizarre*, *concert*, *façoniere*, *chicaneries*, *consummé*, *emotion*, *defer*, *effort*, *chocq*, *entours*, *débouche* ; or the Italian *vaghezza*, *garbato*, *svelto*, &c. Let us therefore (as y^e Romans did the Greeke) make as many of these do homage as are like to prove good citizens.

11. Something might likewise be well translated out of the best orators & poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of y^e moderne languages ; that so some judgement might be made concerning the elegancy of y^e style, and so a laudable & unaffected imitation of the best reco'mended to writers.

12. Finally, there must be a stock of reputation gain'd by some public writings and compositions of y^e Members of this Assembly, and so others may not thinke it dishonor to come under the test, or accept them for judges and approbators : and if y^e designe were ariv'd thus far, I conceive a very small matter would dispatch the art of rhetoric, which the French proposed as one of the first things they reco'mended to their late academicians.

I am, S^r:

Y^r most, &c.

Says-Court, 20 June, 1665.

To my Lord Viscount Cornebery.

My Lord,

Those who defin'd history to be *Disciplina composita de bono practico obtinendo* pointed us to that use of it which every wise man is to make of it by his reading of authors. But as it is the Narration *Rerum gestarum* (for whatever is matter of fact is the subject of history), your L^p cannot expect I should at this distance from my study, & bookes of that kind, be able to present you with so compleate a series of authors as you require of me; much lesse such a method as y^r affection for so noble a resolution, and so becoming a greate person, does truely merit. However, that this may not looked on as an excuse, and that I may in some measure obey y^r L^{ps} com'ands, I shall as far as my talent, and my faithlesse memory serves me at present, give y^r Lo^p the names of those authors which haue deservedly been esteemed the most worthy and instructive of those greate and memorable actions of the ages past.

A Recention of y^r Greeke Historians from the reigne of Cyrus (before which we have nothing of credible in any prophane history) 'til after Justinian, and y^e confusion of y^e Roman Empire by the Goths and Vandals :

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| 1 Herodotus. | 8 Arrianus. |
| 2 Thucydides. | 9 Appianus. |
| 3 Xenophon. | 10 Dion-Cassius. |
| 4 Polybius. | 11 Herodian. |
| 5 Diodorus Siculus. | 12 Zosimus. |
| 6 Dionysius Halicarnassus. | 13 Procopius. |
| 7 Josephus. | 14 Agathias, &c. |

The Latine Historians from y^e foundation of Rome

to the death of the Emperor Valens : Sallust, Cæsar, Titus Livius, Vellejus Paterculus, Quintus Curtius, Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, Justinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, &c.

To these may be superadded, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, and Eunapius, among the Greekes ; Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, Spartianus, Lampridius, and the Augustæ Scriptores, of the Latine, &c. : but for being more mix'd, and lesse methodical, they would haply be read in another order ; and if the Greekes have happily written more even of the Roman story than the Romans themselves, it is what is universally knowne and acknowledged by the learned ; which has made the enumeration of the one, to exceede the mention of y^e latter. These are, my L^d. sufficient to afford y^r L^p: a fairer & more ample course, then any of y^r quality usually pretend to ; being the best, & most worthy consideration both as to y^e grandeur of examples, and politure of the language. As to the later period, from Valens and the Gothic Emperors to our times, I shall furnish y^r curiosity, when you have finish'd this stage ; for it were now, my L^d. to discourage you, the very calling over the names of so many ; how much more, should I add (what y^r L^{sp}s curiosity will desire to dip into, to emerge a compleate historian) the Biographi or writers of particular lives, relations, negotiations, memoirs, &c. which are things apart, and that properly come within the series of y^e more solid and illustrious historians : onely as to that of Chronologie, I conceive it of absolute necessity, that y^r L^{sp} joyne it with all y^r readings together with some geographical author & guide, whose tables, mapps, and discoveries both for the antient & modern names, situations & boundaries of y^e places, you shall with incredible advantage consult, to fix and make it y^r owne. Scaliger's *Emendatio Temporum*, Petavii *Rationarium*, Cal-

visius, Helvicus, or our Isaacson,¹ may suffice to assist you, with Cluverius, our Peter Heylin, and the late accurate atlases set forth by Bleau. To these may be added as necessary subsidiaries; H. Stephens's Historical Dictionary set lately forth in London; and if your L^p thinke fit to pursue the cycle with more expedition, which were likewise to gratifie y^r curiosity by a preparation that will furnish you with a very useful prospect, before you engage y^r selfe on y^e more particulars, there is in English one Howel (not James) who has published a very profitable Compendium of Universal History, so far as he has brought it; to which you may joyne what Bp. Usher has set forth in two volumes, containing the annales of all the memorable actions and passages which have happened in the Church from the creation, mingled wth divers secular passages of rare remarke, and which may serve you instead of Baronius, or any of his voluminous epitomizers, Spondanus, Peruginus, &c. And by that time y^r L^p is arriv'd thus far, you will have perform'd more than any man of y^r quality can pretend to in Court, by im'ense degrees, according to my weake observation, who sometimes passe my time at the circle where the gallants produce themselves with all their advantages, & (God knows) small furniture. Nor will it be difficult for you to goe through the rest with delight & ease, whether you would begin at y^e present age, and reade upwards, 'till you meete wth the period where you left off (which is Grotius's advise to Mon^r Maureliq), or proceede in that order in which you began: but, my Lord, of this, as of whatever else you shall judge me worthy to serve you in, I shall endeavour to p'sent y^r Lo^p with something more

¹ Henry Isaacson, author of the "Chronological Series of the four Monarchies." Folio, London, 1633.

material, & better digested, when you please to co'mand, my L^d,

Y^r Lordship's, &c.

Cornebery, 21 June, 1665.

To my Ld. Viscount Cornebery, L^d Chamberlaine to her Ma^{tie}, &c.

My Lord,

I should be exceedingly wanting to my duty, and to the interest you pleas'd to allow me in y^r friendship, not to preserve it by such acknowledgements as are due to you by infinite obligations: and if this have not been done oftener, distance, and the many circumstances of a jealous intercourse, will easily obtaine y^r mercy; for I sweare to you, my Lord, there breathes not a man upon earth who has a greater value for y^r noble person; because I have establish'd it upon y^r virtues, and that which shines in you above titles, and adjuncts, w^{ch} I regard but as the shadows of greate men; nothing constituent of good & realy permanent. But, my L^d: I intend not here a panegyric, where haply an epithalamium were due, if what has been lately told me, of y^r L^{ps} being newly married, or shortly re-entring into those golden-fetters, be true.¹ But can y^r L^p think of such a felicity, and

¹ Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, eldest son of Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, whom he succeeded in his titles and estate Dec. 29, 1674, had two wives. The first was Theodosia, daughter of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, beheaded for his loyalty to King Charles I.; and the second, alluded to by Evelyn, was Flower, widow of Sir William Backhouse of Swallowfield, Berks, Bart. by whom he had no issue. By this marriage Lord Cornbury became possessed of the manor and house at Swallowfield. The celebrated Lord Chancellor Clarendon resided at his son's house after his retirement from public life, and there wrote his great work "The History of the Rebellion."

not com'and me to celebrate it? not as a poet (for I know not w^t it meanes) but as one perfectly devoted to y^r good fortune; since that glory must needes be in my mouth, which already is so profoundly engraven in my heart. I thought indeede that golden key which I saw ty'd to y^r side by that silken riban, was the forerunner of some other knot, constant as the colour, and bright as the mettall. My L^d: I joy'd you at Hampton-Court for y^e one, and I would joy you from Says-Court for the other; you have in the first a dignity conspicuous for y^e ornament it receives from y^r vertues; but in the second onely, a reward of them above the pearles, & the rubies: 'tis a price which Fortune owes y^r L^p: and I can celebrate her justice without flattery. Long may you live under her happy empire. When I am certaine of y^e particulars, I will string more roses on this chaplet, and make you a country gardener's present; if the anxiety of being at this distance from a person whose influence is so necessary, do not altogether wither my genius.

But, my Ld. give me now leave to entertaine you a little wth mine owne p^ticular condition; since as contraries illustrate one another, it cannot but improve y^r happinesse.

After 6978 (and possibly halfe as many more conceal'd) which the pestilence has mow'd downe in London this weeke; neare 30 houses are visited in this miserable village, whereof one has beene the very neerest to my dwelling: after a servant of mine now sick of a swelling (whom we have all frequented, before our suspicion was pregnant) & which we know not where will determine; behold me a living monument of God Almighty's protection and mercy! It was Saturday last 'ere my courageous wife would be persuaded to take the alarme; but she is now fled, with most of my family; whilest my conscience, or

something which I would have taken for my duty, obliges me to this sad station, 'till his Ma^{tie} take pitty on me, and send me a considerable refreshment for the comfort of these poore creatures, the sick and wounded seamen under mine inspection through all the ports of my district. For mine own particular, I am resolv'd to do my duty as far as I am capable, & trust God with the event; but the second causes should coöperate: for in sum, my L^d, all will, and must fall into obloquy & desolation, unlesse o^r supplys be speedily settled on some more solid fonds to carry this important service on. My Bro: Com^r S^r W^m D'Oily after an account of £17,000 is indebted about £6000, and my reckoning comes after it apace. The prisoners of warr, our infirmatories, and the languishing in 12 other places; the charge of sallaries to physitians, chyrurgeons, officers, medicaments, & quarters, require speedy & considerable supplies; —lesse than £2000 a weeke will hardly support us. And if I have been the more zealous & descriptive of this sad face of things, & of the personal danger I am expos'd to, it is because I beg it may be an instance of y^r goodnesse & charity to reade this article of my letter to my Ld: y^r Father, who I know has bowels, and may seriously represent it to his M^{atie} and my L: High Treasurer. For, my L^d, having made mine attempts at Court by late expresses on this occasion, I am driven to lay this appeale at his Lo^{ps} feete, because having had experience of his favour of mine owne concerne & private affaires, I addresse my selfe wth a confidence I shall succcede now that it imports the publiq. I dare not apply w^t S^t Paule sayd to Timothy (because it dos not become me), but give me liberty to alude: I know none (amongst all o^r Court great-ones) like minded, who dos naturaly care for our state. The consectary is ———; for all seeke their owne. 'Tis, my L^d, a sad

truth, & this no time to flatter ; we should succumb under the poiz but for some few such Atlases as are content to accept of the burthen wth the honor ; which though it makes it sit heavy, makes it sit with a good conscience, & the expectation of a blessing. I am a plaine country gentⁿ : yet heare, & see, and observe, as those in the valies best discern the mountaines ; this nation is ruin'd for want of activity on our parts ; religion & gratitude on all. But, my L^d, I tirannize y^r patience ; pardon the excesse ; I have not often y^e opportunity, and God knows when I may enjoy another, who daily carry my life in my hands. If the malignity of this sad contagion spend no faster before winter, the calamity will be indcible.—But let me now acquainte y^r Lo^p how I passe those moments w^{ch} my assiduous prayers to God for y^r prosperity, & my service of his Ma^{tie} do not take up. It is now about 2 moneths since I consign'd a large epistle to Royston : for y^t piece y^r Lo^p enjoyn'd me to publish in consequence of the former, and which I have made bold to inscribe to my Ld : Chancellor, under somewhat an ænigmatical character, because of y^e invidiousenesse of y^e argument. The booke it selfe was quite finish'd, & wrought off ; but Royston being fled, and the presses dissolv'd, we cannot hope to get o^r freedome, till it please God in mercy to abate y^e contagion. This is that w^h hinders us from y^t most incomparable piece of Mr. Stillingfleete's friend against Searjeant, and divers other particulars, w^h though printed will not as yet be publish'd ;—both venders, & buyers, & readers, being universaly scathed. As to o^r philosophical concernes, D^r Wilkins, S^r W^m Petty, & Mr. Hooke, wth our operator, live all together at my L^d Geo. Barclay's at Durdans neere my Brother, where they are excogitating new rigging for ships, new chariots, & new ploughs, &c. so as I know not of such another happy conversation

of Virtuosi in England. And now I mention'd my Bro: I were ungratefull to omit my acknowledgement of the infinite honor he tells me my Ld: Chancelor was pleas'd to do me, before so many persons of quality and gent: of our county of Surrey as came in to waite on him at Farnham, at my L^d Bishops of Winchester table; when his Lo^p was pleas'd to mention me with an eulogy, and kindnesse so particular & obliging, as I can never hope to merite from his goodnesse. But I would esteeme it the most fortunate day in my life y^t should present me with an occasion, in which I might signalize my prone & most ardent inclynations to his service, as being professedly more engag'd to his Lo^p than to any person living in this world. And if God heare the humble prayers w^h I poure out for the continuance of y^r prosperity, I shall have perform'd but my duty, who am wth a most unfained resignation, My Ld:

Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 9th Sep^r. 1665.

*To my L^d Viscount Cornebery, L^d Chamberlaine to
her Ma^{tie}.*

My L^d:

By this most agreeable opportunity I continue to p'sent y^r Lo^p with my faithfull service, and if it arrive seasonably to supplicate y^r L^{ps} pardon for the style, the mistake, and the length of mine of the ninth instant: it will excite in you different passions, and *one*, my L^d, not an unpleasant one. Smile at my intelligence, and pity all the rest; for it will deserve it, and find a way to y^r noble breast. My servant (whom I there mention to have sent from my house for feare of the worst) will recover, and proves sick only of a very ougly surfeit; w^{ch} not only frees me fro' infinite apprehensions, but admitts me to give

my Wife a visite, who is at my Brother's, and within a fortnight of bringing me my seaventh sonne : and it is time, my L^d, he were borne ; for they keepe us so short of monys at Court, that his Ma^{ties} Commiss^{rs} had neede of one to do wonders, and heale the sick and wounded by miracle, 'till we can maintaine o^r chyrurgeons. My Ld: I do not forget y^r injunction of waiting on you this moneth at Cornebery ; but I am momentarily threatned to be hurried to the sea-side again, after this conflict of my L^d Sandwich ;— and the woman in the straw I would gladly see out of perill. I will not question y^r L^{sp}s being at Oxford this approaching reconvention of Parliam^t: My Father-in-law waites there, and it must go ill wth me if I kisse not y^r hands. Just now I heare the gunns from the Tower : this petty triumph revives us much ; but the miserably afflicted Citty, and euen this o^r poore village, want other consolations ; my very heart turnes within me at the contemplation of our calamity. God give the repentance of David, to y^e sinns of David ! We have all added some weights to this burthen ; ingratitude, and luxurie, and the too, too soone oblivion of miracles.

The Almighty preserve y^r Lo^p, and my best friend in the world my most honrd L^d Chancelor. I would say a thousand affectionate things more to conjure y^r Lop^s belief, that I am,

My L:, y^r &c.

Says-Court, 12 Sep^r 1665.

Sir Philip Warwick to John Evelyn, Esquire.

Cousen,

I am to seek how to answere your letter ; for without passing any compliment vpon you how much I am concern'd in yo^r safty, w^{ch} I find en-

dangered by y^r employment—without professing how sensible I am, that scarce any perticular in the Nauy ought to haue that care & tendernes wait vpon it as the sick and wounded men, and the prisoners, though a lesse regard in respect I heare ours are not soe well used ; and that the Emb^r serv^t seems to take such little care for exchanges, as if he meant to burthen vs wth them : and that these fellowes are soe stuborne they will not worke, nay beat any that will—yet a shame it is if they be not in the proportion the King allowes them prouided for. The ill effect of both these I acknowledge if they be neglected. And when I haue said this you'll wonder what I can say next, that my Lord Treas^r makes not the prouision. S^t: I must say, though I offend my good friend S^r George Carteret, that from the first my Lord Treasurer told him this charge was a cheife part of the expence of the Nauy, & by his assignm^{ts} to be prouided for. It was the first sin transferring faults one from another ; & therefore I am asham'd to be making such returnes, & know that will as little feed the hungry & cloath the naked, as a mouth that's open wth a benediction & a hand closed wth the money. And yet how to make you judge of this I cannot, wthout showing you how the whole Royall ayde is distributed. (And this I assure you, the distribution of the whole 2,500,000^{li} is not of perticular concerne vnto me, fine p^d

	£.
Of the Citty for the Nauy before the Parl ^t borrowed .	200000
Of the Dunkirk mony	050000 ¹
13 Counties wholly assigned	1277604
County of Bucks for the Nauall Reg ^t	0047346
The first 3 months of all the other counties	0096047
Carried forward	1670997

¹ This to be repaid.

£.

Brought forward . . .	1670997
Vpon 17 other counties 102 ^{mli} & 40 ^{mli} And now lately the dispute being that he had noe proper assignm ^t for the sick & wounded, my Lord told him he would assigne him 28,000 ^{li} of those counties particularly for them	0170000

but I feare that will not doe you any seruice, S^r George saying the assignm^t being upon the 3^d yeare, he cannot borrow vpon it.

This hath bin already the Nauys portion of the Royal ayde	1840997
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Ordnance hath had assigned vnto it	0367686
Guards hath counties sett out for	0170616
Garrisons	0045121
Wardrobe had on Wales	0025000

Rem: on the 17 counties 50 ^{mli} } on Wales . . . 59 } 109 ^{mli}	0608423
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And now do you see by whose friendship you have receiued that small refreshment, w^{ch} I say not to diminish his kindnes, but to shew you that properly you were a care of Mr. Vice Chamberlin's.

Totall	2449420
Rem:	0109000
	2558420

All I can adde is, my Lord T'rer will endeavor to dispose the Vice Chamberlin; & if it be in his power, for I thinke him as much overlayed as others, I doubt not he'l vnd'take yo^r charge. And because the assignm^t w^{ch} remaynes to be made vpon Wales, w^{ch} is about 30,000^{li} for the second yeare & the first quarter of the third, may better please him, my Lord T'rer will offer him that, or offer it to S^r W^m D'Oyly & yo^rselfe, if you can procure credit vpon it. He'l make an essay whether out of the present prizes {w^{ch} if his Ma^{ty} will not employ to this vse, being a

better fond of credit, he may be repaid from this assignm^t) he can get you a consid^{ble} sum. His Lo^p is ready to assigne out of Wales or the 17 counties 50,000^{li} for this service singly. And if I could give you a better & more perticular account I would, for I valew both yours and S^r William's integrities & informations soe much, you may both assure yo^rselues I'l not be wanting. And am really sensible of your cares & dangers, w^{ch} we want not (being for all comers) euen here; but being in our station & depending on Prouidence, I hope none of vs shall miscarry. Wee are now seperated & in motion, but I'l hast the resolution. In the mean time you may reserue this to y^rselfe. Only co'municate it to S^r W^m D'Oyly, to whom I cannot at present write, for hauing receiued yo^r l^res but late this night, and the post goeing away in the morning, & I have to send my l^r six myle thither. I begge his pardon & yours, & remayne, wth all truth & affection,

Y^r most faithf^l

kinsman & serv^t,

P. WARWICK.

Stratton, Sept. 16, 1665, 8 at Night.

To Sir Philip Warwick, Secretary to my Lord High Treasurer.

S^r,

Your favour of the 16th current from Stratton, has not only inlightened mine eyes, but confirm'd my reason; for sure I am I durst write nothing to you which would cary in it the least diffidence of y^r most prudent œconomy; and you are infinitely mistaken in me if y^u thinke I have not establish'd my opinion of y^r sincerity & candor in all that you transact, upon a foundation very remote from what the world dos ordinarily build upon: I am sufficiently satisfied to

whose care our supplies did naturally belong : for I do not believe the sums we have received to carry on our burthen thus far (trifling as they have been compar'd to y^e occasion) proceeded from his (Sir George's) good nature (w^h I have been much longer acquainted with then you), but to shift the clamor w^{ch} our necessities have compell'd us to ; whilst our task-masters exacted brick without allowing us straw. And if I have express'd any thing to you in a style more zealous then ordinary, it has been to lay before you a calamity w^{ch} nothing can oppose but a sud-daine supply ; and for that my L^d Arlington (to whom I have frequently said as much) directed me to the proper object. Nor was what I writ a prophesy at adventure : One fortnight has made me feeble the uttmost of miseries that can befall a person in my station and wth my affections : To have 25,000 prisoners, & 1500 sick & wounded men to take care of, without one peny of mony, and above £2000 indebted : It is true, I am but newly acquainted wth buisnesse, and I now find the happy difference betwixt speculation and action to the purpose ; learning that at once, w^{ch} others get by degrees ; but I am sufficiently punish'd for the temerity, and I acknowledge the burthen insupportable : Nor indeede had I been able to obviate this impetuous torrent, had not his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and my Ld: Sandwich (in pure compassion of me) unanimously resolv'd to straine their authority, and to sell (though not a full quorum) some of y^e prizes, & breake bulke in an Indian ship, to redeeme me from this plunge : and all this, for the neglect of his personal care—whom you worthily perstringe, though for domestiq respects & other relations they were not willing to expresse their resentiments. S^r, I am in some hopes of touching y^e £5000 some day this weeke ; but w^t is that, to y^e expense of £200 y^e day?

Is there no exchange or pecuniary redemption to be propos'd? or is his Ma^{tie} resolv'd to maintaine the armies of his enemyes in his owne boosome? whose idlenesse makes them sick, and their sicknesse redoubles the charge! I am amaz'd at this method, but must hold my tongue. Why might not yet the French, who are numerous in this last action (and in my conscience have enough of the sea) be sent home to their master, not to gratifie but plague him wth their unprofitable numbers?

S^r, I most humbly acknowledge your goodnesse for the confidence you have in me, and for that *Arcanum*, the accoumpt of the disposeure & assignement of this prodigious Royall ayd of £2,500,000 which you have so particularly imparted to me, & that I should have preserv'd wth all due caution, though you had enjoyn'd me none. If I obtaine this small sum of £5000 it will be a breathing till I can meete my Bro: Commis^{rs} at Oxford, whither I am sum'on'd to joyne for y^e effects and settlements of some of those more solid appointments mention'd in y^r audit, & which you have promis'd to promote, & therefore I will trouble you no further at present, then to let y^u know, that upon that account of y^r encouragement (I meane the providence of God & my sole desires of serving him in any thing which I hope he may accept, for I sweare to you no other consideration should tempt me a second time to this trouble) I am resolv'd to maintaine my station, and to refuse nothing that may contribute to his Mat^{ies} service, or concerne my duty, who am, S^r, y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 30 Sep^r 1665.

To Sir William Coventry, Secretary to his Highness the Duke of Yorke, and one of the Privy Council.

May it please y^r Ho^r:

Nothing but a calamity which requires the application of the speediest redresse to preserve the lives of men, the honor of his Ma^{tie}, and (as I conceive) a concernement of the weightiest importance to the whole nation, could have extorted this repetition of the sad posture our affaires are in, for want of those monys and effects we were made believe should be assign'd us for the carying on of the province intrusted to us. I will not torment you with the particulars of my owne story, which you know so well by all that has prevented my complaints; but I perfectly apprehend the funest and calamitous issue which a few days may produce, unlesse some speedy course be taken to stop it: Nor am I so little acquainted with the respect w^h I owe to the persons I now write to, as not to know with what decency and reserve I ought to make my addresses upon any other occasion: but the particulars I have aledg'd are very greate truths, and it were to betray his Ma^{ties} gracious intentions, and even his honor, to extenuate here. S^r W^m D'Oily and my selfe have neere ten thousand upon our care, whiles there seemes to be no care of us; who having lost all our servants, officers, and most necessary assistants, have nothing more left us to expose but our persons, which are every moment at the mercy of a raging pestilence (by our daily conversation) and an unreasonable multitude; if such they may be call'd, who having adventur'd their lives for the publiq, perish for their reward, and dye like doggs in the street unregarded. Our prisoners (who with open armes, as I am credibly inform'd by eye-witnesses, embrac'd our

men, instead of lifting up their hands against them) beg at us, as a mercy, to knock them on the head ; for we have no bread to relieve the dying creatures. Nor dos this county afford goailes to secure them in, unlesse Leeds Castle (for which I am now contracting with my Ld: Culpeper) may be had ; if at least half of them survive to be brought so far to starve when they come there. As for the pittance now lately order'd us, what will that benefit to our numbers and the mouthes we are to feede ? Neither is that to be had suddainely, and will be spent before we touch it. I could assemble other particulars of a sad countenance relating to y^e miserys of our owne countrymen. I beseech y^r Hon^r let us not be reputed barbarians ; or if at last we must be so, let me not be the executor of so much inhumanity ; when the price of one good subject's life is (rightly consider'd) of more value then the wealth of the Indies. It is very hard, if in now a twelve moneth's time that we have cost you little more then £30,000 through all England where we have supported this burthen, there should not have been a sufficient fond consecrated & assign'd as a sacred stock for so important a service ; since it has been a thing so frequently & earnestly press'd to their Lo^{ps} ; and that this is not an affaire which can be menag'd without p'sent monyes to feede it ; because we have to deale with a most miserable indigent sort of people, who live but from hand to mouth, & whom we murder if we do not pay daily or weekly ; I meane those who harbor our sick and wounded men and sell bread to our prisoners of war. How we have behav'd o'selves for his Ma^{ties} advantage and honor, we are most ready to produce the accoumpts, and to stand to y^e comparison of what it cost a former Usurper, & a power which was not lavish of their expenses. Let it please y^r Honor to consider of y^e premises, and if you can believe I

retaine so much of servile in me, as to informe you of tales, or designe to magnifie my owne merits (whatever my particular & private sufferings have been), let me be dismiss'd wth infamy; but let me beg of y^r Hon^r to receive first the relation of his Ma^{ties} principal Officers & Commiss^{rs} of the Navy which accompanies the paper of,

Right Hon^{ble},
Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 2 Octob: 1665.

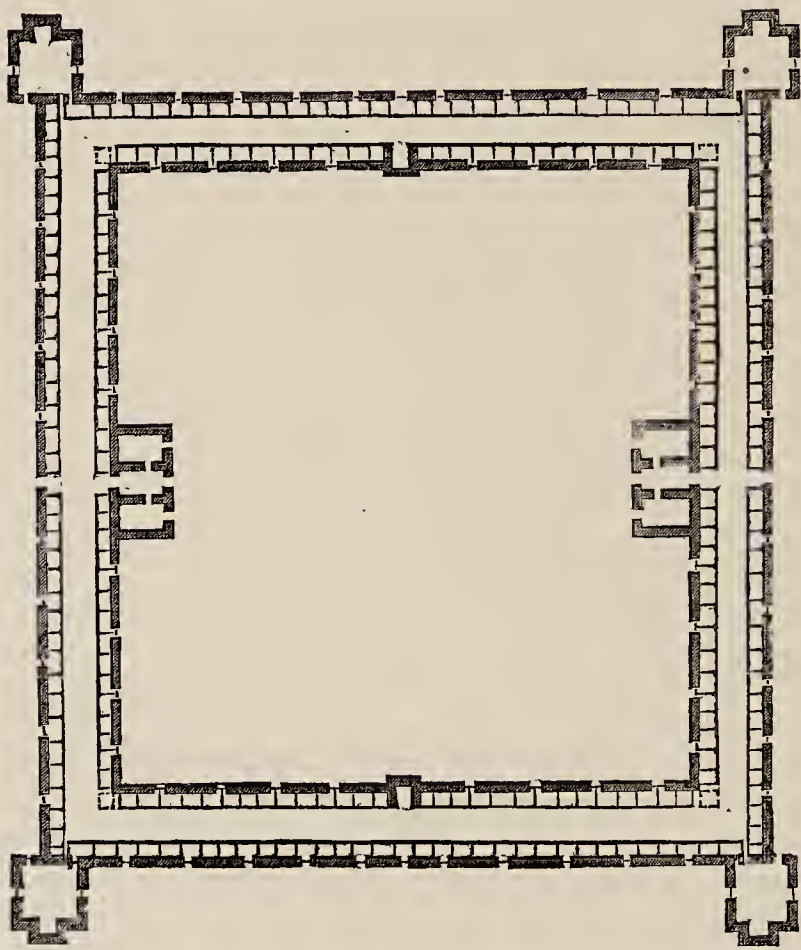
*To Samuel Pepys, Esq. Clerk of the Admiralty,
and one of the principal officers of his Majesty's
Navy, &c.*

S^r,

I have according to your com'ands sent you an hasty draught of the Infirmary, and project for Chatham, the reasons, & advantages of it; which challenges your promise of promoting it to the use design'd: I am mysele convinc'd of the exceeding benefit it will every way afford us. If, upon examination of the p^rticulars, and y^r intercession, it shall merit a recom'endation from y^e rest of the principall officers, I am very confident the effects will be correspondent to the pretence of the papers which I transmit to accompany it. In all events, I have don my endeavour; and, if upon what appears demonstrable to me (not without some considerable experience, and collation with our officers, discreete & sober persons) I persist in my fondnesse to it, from a prospect of the singular advantages w^{ch} would be reaped by setting it on foote, I beseech you to pardon my honest endeavours, wth the errors of,

S^r, Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 3 Jan. 1665-6.



Sayes Court, 26 Mar. 1666.

S^r,

I know not wth what successe I have endeavord to performe y^r co'mands ; but it has ben to the uttmost of my skill, of w^{ch} you are to be my judges : The favour I bespeake of you is, y^r pardon for not sending it before : I have not enjoy'd one minute's repose since my retorne (now a fortnight past) 'till this very morning ; having ben ever since soliciting for a little monye to preserve my miserable flock from perishing. On Saturday, very late, I dispatch'd Mr. Barber towards my Kentish circle, where our sick people are in quarters ; and at his retorne, I hope to present you a compleate accompt ; but 'till this instant morning I had not written one line of those tedious papers ; so that if through hast (the parent of mistakes) there may happly appeare some escapes, giue pardon to y^r servant ; or let me purchase it with this small present of fragments (such yet as you haue been pleas'd to accept) and a little booke, that I also recom'end to excuse my expense of such leasure as I can redeeme from the other impertinences of my life. As to y^e report w^h I send you, I would receive it as a favour ; howeuer y^r resolutions of putting it in execution may succede, (the tyme of yeare being so farr elaps'd, in regard of action, and more im'ediate vse) it might yet be gracefully presented to his Royall H^{sse}, or rather indeede, to his Ma^{tie} himself, who has so frequently ben pleas'd to take notice of it to me as an acceptable project, because it would afflict me to have them thinke I haue either ben remisse, or trifling in my proposall. This obligation I can onely hope for from your dexterity, addresse, and friendship, who am,

S^r,

Y^r most affectionate
and humble servant,

S. Pepys, Esq.

J. EVELYN.

S^r, there is nothing in y^e other paper w^h y^u com-
'anded me to returne ; but what is included in these,
wth ample and (I hope) considerable improvements.

I must beg a copy of those papers when y^e clearkes
are at leasure, hauing never a duplicate by me ; and
it may happily neede a reviewe.

S^r, the bearer hereoff, Roger Winne, being o^r mes-
senger (and without whose services I cannot possibly
be, hauing so frequent occasions of sending him about
businesse belonging to my troublesome employment)
dos by me supplicate y^r protection, that he may not
be pressed, of which he is houely in danger as he
travells about o^r affaires, without y^r p^ticular indul-
gence w^h I therefore conjure you to let him have
under y^r hand and signature.

Sayes-Court, 26 Mar: 1666.

S^r,

If to render you an account of the progresse of my
late proposal be any testimony of my obedience to
y^r com'ands ; be pleas'd to belieue that I most faith-
fully present it in these papers according to the best
of my talent. And if you find the estimate consider-
ably to exceede the first calculation, you will remem-
ber that it was made to y^e meridian of London ; that
the walles were both by his Ma^{tie} and the directions
of the principall officers to be made thicker and
higher ; that the materials and workemen were pre-
sum'd to be found much cheaper in the country ; and
that the place and area to build on was suppos'd a
level. But it has fallen out so much to our prejudice,
and beyond all expectation in these particulars ; that
to commence with the ground, we could not in 4 or 5
miles walking about Chatham and Rochester, find
one convenient spot that would beare a level of 200
foote square, vnlesse it were one field beyond the

dock, in the occupation of Mr. Commissioner Pett neere the bogg and marsh, which has neither solid foundation, nor fresh water to it. There is a very handsome greene close at the end of the Long Rope-house towards Chatham : but the declivity is so suddaine and greate to the west, that lesse then a ten foote raising will not bring it to such a rectitude as that we can lay our plate vpon the wall, which will be a considerable trouble and charge to reforme, as may easily be demonstrated : ffor either the earth must be so much abated towards the east, or the wall advanc'd to the height of neare 20 foote, whiles one extreame of the rooffe will touch the superficies of the earth : Besides the field is not above 150 feet wide. But supposing all this might be encounter'd (as indeede it might wth charge) it bordures so neere to the rope-houses, the dock, and that ample way leading to it from the hill-house and Chatham, as might endanger his Ma^{ties} people in case of any contagion, because it will be impossible to restraine them from sometimes mingling amongst the workemen and others, who haue employment in the dock, when y^e convalessent men shall be able, or permitted to walke abroad. This, and some other difficulties, made vs quit the thoughts of that otherwise gracefully-situated place. After many other surveyes, we at last pitch'd on a field call'd the Warren, just beneath the Mill, and regarding the north towards the river. The accesse is com'odious ; it has a well of excellent water, ready dugg, and wanting onely repaires ; and though this ground be likewise somewhat vneven, yet, with helpe, it will carry about 240 feet in length, and 150 in breadth, allowing the filling vp of some vallies and depressures of about 4 or 5 foote deepe, to be taken from severall risings. This, for many reasons, I conceive to be the fittest for our purpose, it having also a solid foundation on y^e chalke, and being

at a competent distance from all dangerous commerce with the towne, which will greatly contribute to y^e health of the sick, and protection of the inhabitants; but being at present in lease to the Chest, leaue must be obtayn'd, and the tennant, who now rents it, satisfied; in all which Mr. Commissioner Pett (whose direction and assistance I tooke, according to y^r injunctions) informes me, there will be no difficulty.

Vpon examination of the Materials on the place :

	£.	s.	d.
Bricks will not be delivered at the place under .	00	18	00
Lime p ^r load cont. 32 bushells, p ^r M	00	16	00
Drift sand, by tonn	00	00	14
Tyles, p ^r M delivered	01	01	00
Heart lathes, p ^r load, cont. 36 bundles	02	10	00
Sawing, p ^r C	00	03	04
Workmen sufficient, in w ^{ch} was our greate mistake .	00	02	06

Vpon those Materials we conceiv'd thus of the Scantlings:

Walles at 1 brick $\frac{1}{2}$.				
Walle-plates	9	in.	5	
P ^r p ⁿ rafters	9	6	middle	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ f. long.
	11	7	ends.	
Single rafters	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Purlins	9	6		17
Binding-beames	12	12		
Windo-frames	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	2
Dore-cases in brickwork, single				in.
doores	7	6	6	2 8
The two outward double, w th archi-				
trave	7	6	9	9 4
Ground-flo. g'ist	4	4		18
And if stone-floares to the 4 corner-rooms, as has been since judg'd more co'modious, the				
G'ists	8	3		
So' men	14	11		

Besides partitions, posts, interstisse, quartarage.

At those scantlings, together wth the alteration of the walles for height and thicknesse, &c.

Every rod of square brick-worke solid, at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ br. thick, cont. in br. of 9 inch. aboue 12 br. long, to 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ f. in height; 15 br. to every 3 f. high, which to 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ is about 83; so that 83 by 21 is 1743 br. supercial. This, at the design'd thicknesse, is every

square rod 5229 bricks, which I suppose at 17 (the lowest we can expect) delivered at the place, is every rod sq. 09*l.* 08*s.* 01*d.* The total of br. worke then, cont. about 118 sq. rodd, without defalcations of doores, windoes (being 8 doors at 6 and 3 f.; windoes 114 at 3 and 2 f, reduc'd to measure, cont. doores 24 f. by 48, w^{ch} is 1152 sq. foote; windoes 342 f. by 228 f. is 77,976 f. sq.); both these reduc'd to sq. rodde, are almost 30 rodde square; whereof allow 10 sq. r. for inequality of the foundation and chimnies (if upon y^e warren-ground), and then the br. of the whole (without lime and sand) will cost for 98 sq. rodd, at 04*l.* 08*s.* 01*d.* 431 12 02

And every rodd after the rate of 18*d.* for one foote

high, in workmanship, to	01	04	09
Which for 98 rodd is	122	06	00

So as the brick-worke for the whole will come to	650	00	00
Tyling at 36 p ^r sq.	450	00	00
Timber at 46 p ^r sq.	600	00	00
Glasse, about 684 f. at 6 <i>d.</i> p ^r foote.	17	00	00
Windoe-frames, at 4 <i>d.</i> each	22	00	00
Single doores and cases, at 20 <i>s.</i> each; double doores and cases (for the more com'odious bringing in of the sick, being frequently carried) at 36 <i>s.</i> w th y ^e casements, locks, hinges, &c. . .	30	00	00
Stone-floores	32	00	00
Stayres, p ^r step 3 <i>s.</i> 76 in all	11	08	00
Levelling the ground as computed vpon view . .	46	10	00

Total	£1859	18	00
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But this erection, reduc'd to 400 bedds, or rather persons (which would be a very competent number, and yet exceedingly retrench his Ma^{ties} charge for their maintenance) and the whole abated to neere a 5th part of the expense, which amounts to

about	371	00	00
The whole would not exceede	487	18	00

Whereoff the timber and rooffe	480	00	00
The timber alone to	360	00	00
Which, if furnish'd from the yard, the whole charge of the building will be reduc'd to	127	18	00
So as the number of beds diminish'd cradles, and attendance proportionable, the furniture com- plete will cost	480	00	00

Total	£1607	18	00
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According to the formerly-made estimate, and which whole charge will be sav'd in quarters of 400 men onely, within 6 moneths and about 15 dayes, at 6*d.* p^r head, being no lesse then 10*l.* p^r die., 70*l.* p^r weeke, 280*l.* p^r moneth, 3640*l.* p^r ann.; which is more then double w^t his Ma^{tie} is at in one yeare's quarters for them in private-houses; besides all the incomparable advantages enumerated in the subsequent paper, w^{ch} will perpetually hold vpon this, or any the like occasion: the quartering of so many persons at 6*d.* p^r di', amounting to no less then 7280*d.* p^r an.

If this shall be esteem'd inconvenient, because of diffurnishing the yard, or otherwise a temptation to imbecill the timber of the yard:

All the materials bought as above	1487	18	00
Furniture	480	00	00

Total	£1967	18	00
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The whole expense will be reimburs'd in 8 moneths, viz. in 400 men's diet alone by 6*d.* p^r die' 378*d.* p^r moth
 4536 p^r an^m

Whereas the same number at his Ma^{ties} ordinary entertainment is 627 00 00 p^r moth
 7526 08 00 p^r an^m

So as there would be saved yearly . £2990 08 00

Note, y^t the salary of the stuard (who buyes all provisions, payes and keepes the acc^pt, takes charge of the sick when set on shore, and discharges them when recovered, &c.) is not computed in this estimate; because it is the same w^{ch} our clearkes and deputies do by y^e p^sent establishment.

Thus I deduce the p^rticulars:

Chirurgeons 7: viz. 3 M ^r Chir. at 6 <i>s.</i> p ^r diem each; mates 4, at 4 <i>s.</i> each; diet for 400, 280 <i>l.</i> ; 1 matron p ^r weeke 10 <i>s.</i> ; 20 nurses at 5 <i>s.</i> p ^r weeke; fire, candles, sope, &c. 3 <i>d.</i> p ^r weeke	{ £ 280 56 42 £378 p ^r mo th
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Cradles-bedds, 200 at 11 <i>s.</i> p ^r cradle at 4½ f. wide, 6 long	110	00	00
Furniture, w th bedds, rug, blanquetts, sheetes, at 30 <i>s.</i> p ^r bed	300	00	00
Vtensils for Hospital, &c.	70	00	00
	£480	00	00

But I do farther affirme, and can demonstrate, that supposing the whole erection, and furniture (according to my first and largest project, and as his Mat^{ie} and the p^rp^l Offi^{rs} did thinke fit to proportion the height and thicknesse of the walles) for the entertainment of 500 men, should amount to 1859 18 00

Furniture to 582 10 00

Total £2442 08 00

Then would be saved to his Mat^{ie} 332*l*. 18*s*. p^r moth; 3994*l*. 16*s*. p^r an^m.

So that in lesse than 8 moneths tyme there will be saved in the quarters of 500 men alone, more monye than the whole expense amounts to; five hundred men's q^{rs} at 1*s*. p^r die' coming to 25*l*. p^r die', 175*l*. p^r weeke, 700*l*. p^r moth, 9408*l*. p^r an'.

Vpon which I assume, if £3994, by five hundred men; or £3640 in foure hundred men; or lastly if but £2990 be saved in one yeare in the quarters of 400 sick persons, &c. there would a farr greater sum be saved in more than 6000 men; there having ben sent 7000 sick and wounded men to cure in my district onely; and of those 2800 put on shore at Chat-ham and Rochester, for which station I proposed the remedy; five hundred sick persons quarter'd in a towne at the victualers, and scatter'd ale-houses (as y^e custome is) will take up at least 160 houses, there being very few of those miserable places which afford accom'odation for about 2 or 3 in an house; wth being frequently at greater distances, employ of chirurgeons, nurses, and officers, innumerable; so as when we have ben distress'd for chirugions, some of them (upon computation) walked 6 miles every day, by going but from quarter to q^r, and not ben able to visite their patients as they ought: whereas in o^r hospital, they are continually at hand. We have essay'd to hire some capacious empty houses, but could never meete wth any tollerably convenient; and to have many, or more than one, would be charge-

able and very troublesome. By our infirmary, then we have these considerable advantages :

At 6*d*. p^r die' each (in y^e way of Com'ons) the sick shall have as good, and much more proper and wholesome diet, then now they have in y^e ale-houses, where they are fed wth trash, and embecil their monye more to inflame themselves, retard and destroy their cures out of ignorance or intemperance, whiles a sober matron governs y^e nurses, lookes to their provisions, rollers, linnen, &c. And y^e nurses attend the sick, wash, sweepe, and serve y^e offices, the coock and laundrer comprehended in y^e numb^r and at y^e same rate, &c. By this method, likewise, are the almost indefinite number of chirurgions and officers exceedingly reduc'd ; the sick dieted, kept from drinke and intemperance, and consequently from most vnavoidably relapsing. They are hindered from wandring, slipping away and dispersion. They are more sedulously attended ; the physitian better inspects the chirurgions, who neither can, nor will be in all places, as now they are scattered in the nasty corners of the towns. They are sooner and more certeanely cur'd (for I have at p'sent neere 30 bedds employ'd in a barne at Graues-end, which has taught vs much of this experience) they are receiv'd and discharg'd wth infinitely more ease. Our accp^{ts} better and more exactly kept. A vast and very considerable sum is saved (not to say gain'd) to his Ma^{tie}. The materialls of the house will be good if taken downe ; or if let stand, it may serve, in tyme of peace, for a store or workhouse ; the furniture will (much of it) be vsefull vpon like occasion ; and what is to be esteem'd none of the least virtues of it, 'till totally cure the altogether intollerable clamor, and difficulties of rude and vngrateful people, their landlords and nurses, raysed by their poverty vpon the least obstruction of constant and weekly payes ; for

want of which, they bring an ill repute on his Ma^{ties} service, incense the very magistrates and better sort of inhabitants (neighbours to them) who too frequently promote (I am sorry to speak it) their mutinies; so as they have ben sometimes menacing to expose our men in the streetes where some have most inhospitably perish'd. In fine, this would encounter all objections whatsoever; is an honourable, charitable, and frugal provision; effectual full of encouragement, and very practicable; so as, however for the p'sent, it may be consider'd, I cannot but persist in wishing it might be resolu'd vpon towards autumnne at the farthest; Chatham and Rochester alone, having within 17 or 18 monethes cost his Ma^{tie} full £13,000 in cures and quarters; halfe whereof would have neere been saved had this method ben establish'd: add to this, the almost constant station of his Ma^{ties} shippes at the buoy in the Noore, and river of Chatham; the clamor of that place against o^r quartering these, this crazy tyme, and the altogether impossibility of providing else-where for such numbers as continually presse in vpon vs there, more than any where else after actions, or the returne of any of his Ma^{ties} fleete; which, with what has ben offer'd, may reccomend this project, by y^r favourable representation of y^e premises, for a permanent establishment in that place, especially, if his Ma^{tie} and R. H^{sse} so thinke meete. This account, being what I have ben able to lay before you, as the effects of my late inspection vpon the places, by com'ands of the Ho^{bl} the Prp^{ll} Offr^s I request through y^r hands may be address'd to them from,

S^r,

Y^r most obedient servant,

J. EVELYN.

We might this sum'er burne o^r owne bricks, and

procure timber at y^e best hand, w^h would save a considerable charge.

To my Lord Viscount Cornbery.

My Lord,

Ubi Amor, ibi Oculus, excuses y^e glaunces we cast upon desireable objects ; my hand cannot containe itselfe from this presumption, when I have any thing to write which affords me the least pretense ; and though you should not answer my lett^{rs}, yet, till you forbid me writing, I please myselfe that you vouchsafe to reade them. Great persons pay deare for such addresses, who afford them that honor ; and especialy those that (like y^r Lo^p) know so well to value their tyme. One period more, my L^d, and *beso los manos*.

Upon Wednesday last I went to London, and spent the whole afternoone in viewing my Ld: Chancel^{rs} *new house*,¹ if it be not a solecisme to give a palace so vulgar a name. My uncessant buisnesse had 'till that moment prevented my passionate desires of seeing it since it was one stone advanc'd : but I was plainely astonish'd when I beheld w^t a progresse was made. Let me speake ingenuously ; I went with prejudice, and a critical spirit ; incident to those who fancy they know any thing in art : I acknowledge to y^r L^p that I have never seene a nobler pile : my old friend and fellow traveller (cohabitant & contemporarie at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himselfe. It is, without hyperbolies, the best contriv'd, the most usefull, gracefull, and magni-

¹ Clarendon House, built by Mr. Prat ; since quite demolished by Sir Thomas Bond, &c. who purchased it to build a street of tenements to his undoing. J. E.—See vol. ii. pp. 408, 416, 417, 433.

ficent house in England,—I except not Audly-end ; which, though larger, and full of gaudy & barbarous ornaments, dos not gratifie judicious spectators. As I sayd, my Ld: here is state and use, solidity & beauty most symetrically combin'd together: Seriously there is nothing abroad pleases me better ; nothing at home approaches it. I have no designe, my Ld: to gratifie the architect, beyond what I am oblig'd, as a profess'd honorer of virtue wheresoever 'tis conspicuous ; but when I had seriously contemplated every roome (for I went into them all, from the cellar to the platforme on y^e rooffe) seene how well and judiciously the walls were erected, the arches cut, & turn'd, the timber braced, their scantlings and contignations dispos'd, I was incredibly satisfied, and do acknowledge mysele to have much improved by what I observed. What shall I add more ? *rumpatur invidia*, I pronounce it the first Palace of England, deserving all I have said of it, and a better encomiast.

May that greate & illustrious person, whose large & ample heart has honor'd his country wth so glorious a structure, and by an example worthy of himselfe, shew'd o^r nobility how they ought indeede to build, and value their qualities, live many long yeares to enjoy it ; and when he shall be pass'd to that upper *building, not made wth hands*, may his posterity (as you my L^d) inherite his goodnesse, this palace, and all other circumstances of his grandure, to consu'mate their felicity ; with which happy augure, permitt me in all faithfullnesse, and sincerely, to subscribe my selfe, my L^d,

Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 20th Jan. 1665-6.

*To the Dean of Rippon (Dr. Wilkins) afterwards
Lord Bishop of Chester.*

S^r,

I have read Mr. Tillotson's "Rule of Faith," and am oblig'd to render him thanks for the benefit I acknowledge to have receiv'd by it: Never in my life did I see a thing more illustrated, more convincing, unlesse men will be blind because they will be so. I am infinitely pleas'd with his equal style, dispassionate treatment, & Christian temper to that importunat adversary: for my part, I looke upon that buisnesse as dispatch'd, and expect onely the grimaces and agonies of dying, & desperate men for the future: plainly the wound is mortal.

S^r, that I presume to send you the consequence of what I formerly publish'd in English, in the Controversy 'twixt the Jesuits and Jansenists, speakes rather my obedience to a com'and from that greate person,¹ than my abilities to have undertaken, or acquitted my selfe of it as I ought: I have annexed an Epistolary Preface, not to instruct such as you are in any thing which you do not know: but for their sakes, who reading the booke, might possibly conceive the French Kings to have ben the onely persons in danger; & because I hope it may receive y^r suffrage as to the pertinence of it *pro hic et nunc*.

I am heartily sorry that some indispensable avocations frequently deprive me of your meetings at Gressham-Colledge, & particularly that I cannot be there on Wednesday; his Ma^{tie} having enjoyn'd me to repaire to-morrow to Chatham, for the taking order about erecting an infirmary, capable to entertaine about 500 sick persons, & all to be finish'd against the next occasion. If Almighty God do not vouchsafe to accept this service, as well as the King

¹ My Lord Chancellor.

my master, I shall be an intollerable looser, by being so long diverted from a conversation so profitable and so desirable. But warrs will once have a period ; and I now & then get a baite at philosophy ; but it is so little and jejeune, as I despair of satisfaction 'till I am againe restor'd to the Society, where even y^r very fragments are enough to enrich any man that has the honour to approach you. S^r, I thinke I have at last procured the mummia w^{ch} you desired : be pleas'd in y^e name & wth authority of the Royal Society to challenge it of the injurious detainers, therein using the addresse of Mr. Fox ; S^r Sam. Tuke having written most effectually in our behalfe, who deserves (together with the Hon. Mr. Hen. Howard of Norfolk) a place among our benefactors.

Sir, I am, &c.

To Sir Samuel Tuke, Knt. & Bart.

S^r,

It was some foure days before the most fatal conflagration of the (quondam) Citty of London y^t I addressed a few lines to you ; little thinking I should so soone have had two such dissolutions to deplore : the burning of the best towne in the world : and the discease of the best ffriend in the world, your excellent lady. S^r, you know they are but small afflictions that are loquacious—greate ones are silent : & if ever greate ones there were, mine eyes have beheld, & mine eares heard them, with an heart so possess'd with sorrow, that it is not easily express'd ; because y^e instances have ben altogether stupendous & unparallel'd. But it were in vaine to entertaine you with those formal topics, w^h are wont to be applied to persons of lesse fortitude & Christian resignation, though I cannot but exhort you to what, I know, you do—looke upon all things in this world as

transitory & perishing; sent us upon condition of quitting them cherefully, when God pleases to take them from us. This consideration alone (wth the rest of those graces w^h God has furnish'd you wthall) will be able to alleviate y^r passion, & to preserve you from succumbing under y^r pressures, w^h I confesse are weighty: but not insupportable: Live therefore, I conjure you, & helpe to restore y^r deare Country, & to console y^r ffrinds. There is none alive wishes you more sincere happinesse than my poore family.

I suppose I should have heard ere this from you of all y^r concernments; but impute y^r silence to some possible miscarriage of y^r lett^{rs}; since the usual place of addresse is wth the rest reduc'd to ashes & made an heape of ruines. I would give you a more particular relation of this calamitous accident; but I should oppresse you with sad stories, and I question not but they are come too soone amongst you at Paris with all minutenesse, & (were it possible) hyperbolies. There is this yet of lesse deplorable in it: that, as it has pleas'd God to order it, little effects of any greate consequence have been lost, besides the houses:—That o^r merchands at the same instant in w^h it was permitted y^t y^e tidings should flie over seas, had so settled all their affaires, as they complying wth their forraine correspondence as punctually as if no disaster at all had happen'd; nor do we heare of so much as one that has fail'd. The Exchange is now at Gressham Colledge. The rest of the Citty (which may consist of neere a 7th part) & suburbs peopl'd with new shopps, the same noyse, buisnesse, & com'erce, not to say vanity. Onely the poore booke-sellers have ben indeede ill treated by Vulcan; so many noble impressions consum'd by their trusting them to y^e churches, as the losse is estimated neere two-hundred thousand pounds: w^{ch} will be an extraordinary detriment to y^e whole republiq of learning.

In y^e meane time, the King & Parliament are infinitely zealous for the rebuilding of our ruines; & I believe it will universally be the employment of y^e next spring: They are now busied wth adjusting the claimes of each proprietor, that so they may dispose things for the building after the noblest model: Every body brings in his idea, amongst the rest I p^rsented his Ma^{tie} my owne conceptions, wth a Discourse annex'd. It was the second that was seene, within 2 dayes after the conflagration: But Dr. Wren had got the start of me.¹ Both of us did coincide so frequently, that his Ma^{tie} was not displeas'd with it, & it caus'd divers alterations; and truly there was never a more glorious phoenix upon earth, if it do at last emerge out of these cinders, and as the designe is layd, with the present fervour of y^e undertakers. But these things are as yet im^ature; & I pray God we may enjoy peace to encourage those faire dispositions: The miracle is, I have never in my life observ'd a more universal resignation, lesse repining amongst sufferers; which makes mee hope, y^t God has yet thoughts of mercy towards us: Judgments do not always end where they begin; & therefore let none exult over our calamities:—We know not whose turne it may be next. But, S^r, I forbear to entertain you longer on these sad reflections; but persist to beg of you not to suffer any transportations unbecoming a man of virtue; resolve to preserve y^r selfe, if it be possible, for better times, the good & restauration of y^r country, & the comfort of y^r friends & relations, and amongst them of, S^r,

Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 27th Sep^r 1666.

¹ These Plans were afterwards printed by the Society of Antiquaries, and have been repeatedly engraved for the various Histories of London; that by Mr. Evelyn is erroneously inscribed Sir John Evelyn.

*To my Lord Chancellor :
Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon.*

My L^d:

I did the other day in West' Hall give my Ld: Cornbery, y^r L^{ps} sonne, my thoughts briefly concerning a most needefull reformation for the transmitting a clearer streame for the future from the presse, by directing to imaculate copys of such bookes as being vended in greate proportions do for want of good editions amongst us export extraordinary sums of mony, to our no lesse detriment than shame: and I am so well satisfied of the honor which a redresse in this kind will procure even to posterity (however small the present instance may appear to some in a superficial view) that I thinke my selfe obliged to wish that y^r Lo^p may not conceive it unworthy of y^r patronage. The affaïre is this:

Since the late deplorable conflagration, in w^{ch} the stationers have been exceedingly ruin'd, there is like to be an extraordinary penury & scarcity of Classic authors, &c. us'd in our Grammar Scholes; so as of necessity they must suddainely be reprinted. My Ld: may please to understand, that our book-sellers follow their owne judgement in printing the antient authors according to such text as they found extant when first they entred their copy; whereas, out of MSS. collated by the industry of later critics, those authors are exceedingly improved. For instance, about 30 yeares since, Justine was corrected by Isaac Vossius, in many hundreds of places most material to sense & elegancy; & has since ben frequently reprinted in Holland after the purer copy: but wth us, still according to the old reading. The like has Florus, Seneca's Tragedys, & neere all the rest: which haue in the meane time been castigated abroad

by severall learned hands, which, besides that it makes ours to be rejected, & dishonors our nation, so dos it no little detriment to learning, & to the treasure of the nation in proportion: The cause of this is, principaly the stationer driving as hard & cruel a bargain with the printer as he can; and the printer taking up any smatterer in the tongues, to be the lesse looser; an exactnesse in this no wayes importing the stipulation: by which meanes errors repeate & multiply in every edition, & that most notoriously in some most necessary schole-bookes of value, which they obtrude upon the buyer, unlesse men will be at unreasonable rates for forraigne editions. Y^r Lo^p: dos by this perceive the mischievous effects of this avarice, & negligence in them.

And now towards the removing these causes of the decay of typography, not onely as to this particular, but in generall: It is humbly propos'd to consider whether it might not be expedient: First, that inspection be had what text of the Greeke & Latine authors should be follow'd in future impressions: 2^{ly}, That a censor be establish'd to take care and caution of all presses in London, that they be provided with able correctors, principaly for schole-bookes, which are of large & iterated impressions. 3^{dly}, That the charge thereof be advanc'd by the Company, which is but just, and will be easily reimburs'd, upon an allowance arising from better & more valuable copys; since 'tis but reason that whoever builds an house be at the charges of surveing: and if it stand in relation to the publiq (as this dos), that he be obliged to it.

My L^d; these reflections are not crudely represented, but upon mature advise & conference wth learned persons with whom I now & then converse; & they are highly worthy y^r Lo^{ps} interesting y^r power & authority to reforme it, & will be inserted into the

glorious things of y^r story, & adorne y^r memory; greate persons heretofore did take care of these matters, & it has consecrated their names. The season is also now most proper for it, that this sad calamity has mortified a Company w^{ch} was exceedingly haughty & difficult to manage to any usefull reformation; & therefore (well knowing the benefit w^{ch} would accrue to y^e publiq by so noble an attempt) I could not but reco'mend it to y^r Lo^p: out of the pure sense of gratitude I have to wish y^r Lo^p: all the happy occasions of increasing y^r honor, for the favors you always shew me, and the obligations I haue to y^r p^rticular friendship & kindnesse. My L^d: if this paper find acceptance, I would be bold to add some farther hints for y^e carying it on to some perfection; for besides all I have sayd, there will neede paines in reading, consulting MSS. & conference wth learned men, good indexes, apt divisions, chapters & verses, as the *Dutch Variorum*, embellishments of Roman and Italiq letters, to separte inserted speeches (especialy in historians and sententious authors), and which adds to the use and lustre, together with a choyce of succinct notes after more terse & profitable copys. For 'tis a shame, that ever such as our owne countryman Farnaby has publish'd, should be sold us from other countries; because our owne editions are so much inferior to them. If y^r Lo^p: would set y^r heart upon other particulars, concerning the reformation of our English Presse, I could give instance in some of high reputation, & no meane advantage. But I would rejoyce to see but this take effect. My L^d, I kisse y^r L^{ps} hands, &c.

Sayes-Court, 27 Nov^r: 1666.



To Abraham Cowley, Esq.

S^r,

You had reason to be astonish'd at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I who have so highly celebrated recesse, and envied it in others, should become an advocate for the enemie, which of all others it abhorrs and flies from. I conjure you to believe y^t I am still of the same mind, & that there is no person alive who dos more honor and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorne by your example: But as those who prays'd dirt, a flea, and the gowte,¹ so have I *Publiq Employment* in that trifling Essay,² and that in so weake a style compar'd to my antagonists, as by that alone it will appeare I neither was nor could be serious; and I hope you believe I speake my very soule to you: but I have more to say, which will require your kindnesse. Suppose our good friend were publishing some Eulogies on the Royal Society, and by deducing the originall, progresse, and advantages of their designe, would bespeake it some veneration in the world? Has Mr. Cowley no inspirations for it? Would it not hang the most heroic wreath about his temples? Or can he desire a nobler or a fuller argument either for the softest aires or the loudest echoes, for the smoothest or briskest strokes of his Pindaric lyre?

There be those who aske, What have the Royal Society done? Where their Colledge? I neede not instruct you how to answer or confound these persons, who are able to make even these informe blocks

¹ Dornavius's "Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Jacoseriae" contains a large collection of those facetiae, in prose and verse, with which the scholars of those times relieved their serious studies.

² "Public Employment, &c. preferred to Solitude," 1667. Printed in "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, 4to, pp. 501-509.

and stones daunce into order, and charme them into better sense. Or if their insolence presse, you are capable to shew how they have layd solid foundations to perfect all noble arts, and reforme all imperfect sciences. It requires an history to recite onely the arts, the inventions, and phænomena already absolved, improved, or opened. In a word, our Registers have outdon Pliny, Porta, & Alexis, and all the experimentists, nay, the great Verulam himselfe, & have made a nobler and more faithfull collection of real seacrets, usefull and instructive, than has hitherto been shewn.—S^r, we have a Library, a Repository, & an assembly of as worthy & greate persons as the world has any; and yet we are sometimes the subject of satyr and the songs of drunkards; have a King to our founder, and yet want a Mæcenas; and above all a spirit like yours, to raise us up benefactors, & to compell them to thinke the designe of the Royall Society as worthy their regards, & as capable to embalme their names, as the most heroic enterprise, or any thing antiquity has celebrated; and I am even amaz'd at the wretchednesse of this age that acknowledges it no more. But the Devil, who was ever an enemy to truth, and to such as discover his præstigious effects, will never suffer the promotion of a designe so destructive to his dominion, which is to fill the world with imposture & keepe it in ignorance, without the utmost of his malice and contradiction. But you have numbers and charmes that can bind even these spirits of darknesse, and render their instruments obsequious; and we know you have a divine hymne for us; the luster of the R^l Society calls for an ode from the best of poets vpon the noblest argument. To conclude: here you have a field to celebrate the greate and the good, who either do, or should favour the most august and worthy designe that ever was set on foot in the

world: and those who are our real patrons and friends you can eternize, those who are not you can conciliate & inspire to do gallant things.—But I will add no more, when I have told you with very great truth that I am,

S^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 12 March, 1666-7.

From Abraham Cowley to J. Evelyn, Esq.

Chertsea, May 13, 1667.

S^r,

I am asham'd of y^e rudenesse I have committed in deferring so long my humble thanks for y^r obliging letter w^{ch} I received from yow at y^e beginning of y^e last month: my laziness in finishing y^e copy of verses vpon y^e Royal Society, for w^{ch} I was engag'd before by M^r Sprat's desire, & encouraged since by yow, was the caus of this delay, haueing designed to send it to yow enclosed in my letter; but I am told now y^t y^e History is almost quite printed, & will bee published so soon, y^t it were impertinent labour to write out y^t w^{ch} you will so suddenly see in a better manner, and in y^e company of better things. I could not comprehend in it many of those excellent hints w^{ch} yow were pleas'd to give mee, nor descend to the praises of particular persons, becaus those things affoord too much matter for one copy of verses, and enough for a poem, or the History itself: some part of w^{ch} I have seen, & I think yow will bee very well satisfied wth it. I took y^e boldness to show him y^r letter, & hee says he has not omitted any of those heads, though hee wants y^r eloquence in expression. Since I had y^e honour to receive from yow y^e reply to a book written in praise of a solitary life,¹ I haue

¹ Sir George Mackenzie's "Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to Public Employment," &c. 1665.

sent all about y^e town in vain to get y^t author, haveing very much affection for y^e subiect, w^{ch} is one of the noblest controversies both modern and ancient, & you have delt so civilly wth your adversary, as makes him deserve to bee look'd after. But I could not meet wth him, the books being all, it seems, either burnt or bought up. If yow pleas to do mee y^e favour to lend it to mee, & send it to my brothers hous (y^t was) in the King's Yard, it shall bee return'd to yow wthin a few days wth y^e humble thanks of y^r most faithfull obedient serv^t,

A. COWLEY.

To Henry Howard, Esq. of Norfolk, heir apparent to that Dukedom.¹

S^r,

It is not without much regret and more concernement as it regards y^r honorable & illustrious family, that I have now so long a time beheld some of the noblest antiquities in the world, & which y^r grandfather purchased with so much cost & difficulty, lye abandoned, broken, & defaced in divers corners about Arundel House & the gardens belonging to it. I know y^r Honour cannot but have thoughts and resolutions of repairing & collecting them together one day; but there are in the meane tyme certaine broken inscriptions, now almost obliterated with age, & the ill effects of the weather, which will in a short time vtterly be lost & perish, vnlesse they be speedily removed to a more benigne & lesse corrosive ayre. For these it is, I should be an

¹ This Letter procured all the Marmora Arundeliana, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Urns, Altar Tables, &c. now at Oxon. J. E. See his Dedication to this gentleman, prefixed to Roland Freart's "Idea of the Perfection of Painting," reprinted in Evelyn's "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, 4to, p. 555.

humble suitor that you would think fit to make a present of them to the University of Oxford, where they might be of greate vse and ornament, and remaine a more lasting record to posterity of your munificence, than by any other application of them whatsoever; and the University would thinke themselves oblig'd to inscribe y^r name, and that of y^r illustrious family to all significations of gratitude.

I have also long since suggested to y^r Hon^r that you would cause the best of y^r statues, basso-relievos, & other antiquities standing in y^r gallery at Arundel House, to be exquisitely design'd by some skillfull hand, and engraven in copper, as Mons: Liancourt did those of Rome by Perrier, & long before him Raphael himselfe, Sadeler, and other incomparable sculptors: because by this meanes they would be co'municated to the world, and diuers greate & learned persons, studious of antiquity, might be benefited by them; and if such a thing were added to the impression of the *Marmora Arundeliana* (which I heare the University of Oxon are now preparing for a second impression), how greatly would it adorne that admirable work, & do new honors to y^r illustrious name & family, as it has formerly, & yet dos to divers noble Italians, & others, who have not ben able to produce such a collection as you are furnished with, but which perish in obscurity, & yield not that to y^e publiq, who would be obliged to celebrate you, for want of a small expence! Methinkes, whilst they remaine thus obscur'd & neglected, the very marbles are become vocal, and cry to you for pittie, & that you would even breathe life into them. S^r, you will easily see I have no other designe in this then to expresse the honour I have for y^r person and for y^r illustrious family; and because I find this would be one of the most glorious instances to augment and

perpetuate it, I cannot but wish that it might take effect. I have no more to add but that I am, &c.

Says-Court, 4 Aug. 1667.

*To Doctor Bathurst,
President of Trinity College, Oxon.*

S^r,

I heartily wish I had the good fortune to be as serviceable to you in particular for the many favours I have received, as I doubt not but I shall be to a place, which for y^r sake as well as my owne, I have so much reason to honour, I meane the University; if at least it may be esteemed a service to have obtained of Mr. Henry Howard of Norfolk, the freely bestowing upon you all those learned monuments which passe vnder the famous names of *Marmora Arundeliana*. This, S^r, the interest w^{ch} that illustrious person has allowed me in his friendship has wrought for you; and I dare pronounce it highly worthy your acceptance. For you shall not onely be masters of some few, but of all; and there is nothing more to be don, than after you have taken notice of his munificence (which I desire, and wish may be speedily don in a publiq addresse as from the body of the University) to take order for their transportation to you; for which effect, I conceive it would be worth your while to delegate Mr. Obadiah Walker, or Dr. Wren (Sir Christopher), persons that I much honor, who may take care, and consult about the best expedients for their removall; for they being marble & some of them basse-relievos rarely cutt, will deserve to be guarded from injuries: And when they are at Oxford, I conceive they can no where be more fittly placed than in some part about the new theatre, except you should think fit to protect some of the more curious & small ones,

as urnes, &c. in the galleries next the library, where they may remaine secure. I haue assured Mr. Howard that the University will not faile in their sense of this noble gift and munificence, by decreeing him a publiq and conspicuous inscription which shall consecrate his memory : And if I have hinted it more particularly to Mr. Walker, it is what I think will become y^r justice & such gratefull beneficiaries. I shall intreate you to acquainte Mr. Vice-Chancellor with what I have don, as also Dr. Barlow, & Dr. Pierce, the Warden and Presidents of Queenes & Magdalen Coll : my worthy friends, and beg that through your addresse this service of mine may be acceptable to the University from,

S^r, your, &c.

Lond: 9th Sept. 1667.

*To the Earl of Sandwich,
Lord Ambassador in Spain, at Madrid.*

My Lord,

I could hardly obtaine of my selfe to give y^r Exc^y this trouble, or dare to mingle my impertinencies amongst your publiq and weighty concernes, 'till reflecting on the greatnesse of y^r genius, I concluded it would neither be disturb'd, nor disdaine my humble addresse, that confident of y^r com'unicative nature, I adventur'd to supplicate y^r Exc^s favour in behalfe of a worke of mine upon the Hortulan subject ; and in particular, that y^r Ex^{cy} would vouchsafe by the meanest of y^r servants to give me some short descriptions of the most famous gardens and villas of Spaine,¹ and

¹ Which he sent me from Madrid, many sheets of paper written in his owne hand, together with the *Sembrador* or plough itselfe, w^{ch} I gave to y^e R: Society, & is describ'd in their "Transactions."—J. E.

what other singularities of that kind might occur to the adorning of a labour wherein I chiefly pretend to gratifie greate & illustrious persons, and such as like y^r L^p are the most worthy to cultivate and enjoy these amœnities. The catalogue which I here presume to send y^r Ex^{cy}, and the paines I have already taken to render it no trifling or un-usefull speculation, will in some degree com'ute for this bold addresse; especially since I could never hope to receive so much light from any but y^r Ex^{cy}, to whom I am confident there can be nothing curious in this argument conceal'd, how close & reserv'd so ever the Spaniards are. I have heard that there is lately a German at Madrid, who pretends to a successful invention for the setting of corne by a peculiar sort of plow. This, I am sure cannot have escaped y^r Exc^y: and it will be due to the R: Society, the History whereof, now at last publish'd here wth infinite applause, I doubt not is come to y^r hands, and that you will judge it worthy the most accurate translation. But, my Lord, I shall leave that to the joynt request of the Society, and accumulate no more to these extravagances of mine, after I have supplicated your Ex^{cys} pardon, who am,

May it please y^r Ex^{cy}, y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 13 Dec^r 1667.

To the Rev. Joseph Glanvil, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and F.R.S. a native of Devonshire,¹ and a distinguished writer of the seventeenth century.

S^r,

I received so wellcome, and so obliging a toaken

¹ He sent me his booke, intituled, "Plus Ultra; or the Progress and Advancement of Knowledge, since the Days of Aristotle," octavo, Lond. 1668. J. E.—An account of this may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 36.

from y^u by y^e hands of Mr: Oldenburgh, that after all I can say in this lett^r in acknowledgement of that particular favour, I must continue to subscribe my-selfe y^r debtor: For what have you seene in any of my productions, which should make you augure so favourably of that trifle of mine, upon so trite and humble a subject; or mention me amongst the heros whom you so meritoriously celebrat! I cannot find anything to support it, but your most obliging nature, of which the comely and philosophic frame is abundantly conspicuous, by this worthy vindication both of y^r selfe and all usefull learning, against the science (falsely so called) of your snarling adversary.¹ I do not conceive why the Royall Society should any more concern themselves for the empty and malicious cavells of these delators, after what you haue say'd; but let the moon-dogs bark on, 'till their throats are drie; the Society every day emerges, and her good Genius will raise up one or other to judge & defend her; whilst there is nothing which dos more confirme me in the noblenesse of the designe, than this spirit of contradiction which the devil (who hates all discoveries of those false & præstigious ways that have hitherto obtain'd) dos incite to stirr up men against it. But, S^r, you have discours'd this so fully in this excellent piece of yours, that I have no more to add, but the suffrage and subscription of, S^r,

Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 24 June, 1668.

¹ Henry Stubbe, an inveterate enemy of the Royal Society, which he set forth in many pamphlets. He also wrote an Answer to Mr. Glanvil, intituled, "*The Plus Ultra reduced to a Non Plus; or a Specimen of some Animadversions upon the Plus Ultra of Mr. Jos: Glanvil.*" Quarto, 1670.

*To the Earle of Sandwich, Ambass^r Extraordinary
in the Court of Spaine, at Madrid.*

My Lord,

I am plainly astonish'd at y^r bounty to me, and I am in paine for words to expresse the sense I have of this greate obligation.¹

And as I have ben exceedingly affected with the descriptions, so have I ben greatly instructed in the other particulars y^r Lo^p mentions, and especialy rejoyce that y^r Ex^{cy} has taken care to have the draughts of the places, fountaines, & engines for y^e irrigation & refreshing their plantations, which may be of singular use to us in England. And I question not but y^r Ex^{cy} brings with you a collection of seedes; such especially as we may not have com'only in our country. By y^r Lo^{ps} description, the *Encina* should be the *Ilex major aculeata*, a sucker whereoff yet remaines in his Ma^{ties} Privie-Gardens at White Hall, next the dore y^r is opposite to the Tennis-Court. I mention it the rather, because it certainly might be propagated with us to good purpose, for the father of this small tree I remember of a goodly stature; so as it yearely produc'd ripe acorns; though Clusius, when he was in England, believ'd it to be barren: & happly, it had borne none in his tyme. I have sown both the acorns of the tree, and the cork with successe, though I have now but few of them remaining, through the negligence of my gardiner; for they require care at the first raising, 'till they are accustom'd to the cold, and then no rigour impeaches them. What y^r Exc^y: meanes by the *Bama de Joseph*, I do not comprehend; but the *Planta Alois*, which is a monstrous kind of *Sedum*, will, like it,

¹ Upon his communicating particulars of horticultural matters in Spain.

endure no wett in winter, but certainly rotts if but a drop or two fall on it, whereas in summer you cannot give it drink enough. I perceive their culture of choyce & tender plants differs little from ours in England, as it has ben publish'd by me in my *Calendarium Hortense*, which is now the third time reprinting. Stoves absolutely destroy our conservatories; but if they could be lin'd with cork, I believe it would better secure them from the cold & moisture of the walls, than either matrasses, or reedes with which we co'monly invest them. I thinke I was the first that ever planted Spanish Cardôns in our country for any culinerie use, as y^r Ex^{cy}: has taught the blanching; but I know not whether they serve themselves in Spaine with the purple beards of the thistle, when it is in flower, for the curdling of milk, which it performes much better than reinet, and is far sweeter in the dairy than that liquor, which is apt to putrifie.

Your Excell^y has rightly conjectur'd of y^e pomegranad: I have allways kept it expos'd, and the severest of our winters dos it no prejudice; they will flower plentifully, but beare no fruit with us, either kept in cases & in the repository, or set in y^e open ayre; at least very trifling, with y^e greatest industry of stoves & other artifices.

We have asparagus growing wild both in Lincolnshire & in other places; but y^r L^p observes, they are small & bitter, & not comparable to the cultivated.

The red pepper, I suppose, is what we call ginny-peper, of which I have rais'd many plants, whose pods resemble in colour the most oriental & polish'd corall: a very little will set y^e throat in such a flame, as has ben sometimes deadly, and therefore to be sparingly us'd in sauces.

I hope y^r L^p will furnish y^r selfe wth melon seedes,

because they will last good almost 20 years; & so will all the sorts of garavances, calaburos, & gourds, (whatever Herrera affirme,) which, may be for divers oeconomical uses.

The Spanish onion-seede is of all other the most excellent; and yet I am not certaine, whether that which we have out of Flanders and St. Omers, be all the Spanish seede w^{ch} we know of. My Lady Clarendon (when living) was wont to furnish me with seede that produc'd me prodigious cropps.

Is it not possible for y^r Ex^{cy} to bring over some of those quince and cherry-trees, which y^r L^p so celebrates? I suppose they might be secur'd in barells, or pack'd up, as they transport other rarities from far countries. But, my Ld: I detain y^r Ex^{cy} too long in these repetitions, & forget that I am all this while doing injury to y^e publiq, by suspending you a moment from matters of a higher orb, the interest of states, & reconciling of kingdomes: and I should think so of another, did I not know withall, how universall y^r comprehensions are, & how qualified to support it. I remaine, my L^d,

Y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 21 Aug. 1668.

To Dr. Beale.

S^r,

I happn'd to be wth Mr. Oldenburg some time since, almost upon the article of his receiving the notice you sent him of y^r fortunate and useful invention; and I remember I did first of all incite him, both to insert it into his next Transactions, and to provoke y^r farther prosecution of it; which I exceedingly rejoice to find has ben so successfull, that you give us hopes of y^r farther thoughts upon *that*,

and those other subjects which you mention.¹ You may happily call to remembrance a passage of the Jesuite Honorati Fabri, who speaking of perspectives, observes, that an object looked on through a small hole appears magnified; from whence he suggests, the casting of two plates neatly perforated, & fitted to looke through, preferable to glasses, whose refractions injure the sight. Though I begin to advance in yeares (being now on the other side of 40) yet the continuance of the perfect use of my senses (for which I blesse Almighty God) has rendred me the lesse solicitous about those artificial aydes; which yet I foresee I must shortly apply my selfe to, and therefore you can receive but slender hints from me which will be worthy' acceptance upon that argument: onely, I well remember, that besides Tiberius of old (whom you seeme to instance in) Joseph Scaliger affirms the same happned both to his father Julius and himselfe, in their younger yeares. And sometimes methinkes, I my selfe have fansied to have discern'd things in a very dark place, when the curtaines about my bed have ben drawne, as my hands, fingers, the sheete, and bed-clothes; but since my too intent poring upon a famous eclipse of the sun, about 12 yeares since, at which time I could as familiarly have stared with open eyes upon that glorious planet in its full lustre, as now upon a glow-worme (comparatively speaking), I have not onely lost that acuteness of sight, but much impair'd the vigour of it for such purposes as it then serv'd me. But besides that, I have treated myne eyes very ill neere these 20 yeares, during all which tyme I have rarely put them together, or compos'd them to sleepe before one at night, & sometimes much later: that I

¹ The paper alluded to is intituled, "An Experiment to examine what Figure and Celerity of Motion begetteth or encreaseth Light and Flame." Philosophical Transactions, vol. i. p. 226.

may in some sort redeeme my losses by day, in which I am continually importun'd with visits from my neighbours & acquaintance, or taken up by other impertinences of my life in this place. I am plainly asham'd to tell you this, considering how little I have improv'd mysele by it, but I have rarely ben in bed before 12 o'clock as I sayd, in the space of 20 yeares; and yet I reade the least print, even in a jolting coach, without other assistance¹ save that I now & then use to rub my shut eye-lids over with a spirit of wine well rectified, in which I distill a few rose-marie flowers, much after the processe of the Queene of Hungarie's water, which dos exceedingly fortifie not onely my sight, but the rest of my senses, especialy my hearing and smelling; a drop or two being distill'd into the nose oreares, when they are never so dull; and other *κολλουριον* I never apply. Indeede, in y^e sum'er-time, I have found wonderfull benefit in bathing my head with a decoction of some hot & aromaticall herbs, in a lixivium made of the ashes of vine-branches, and when my head is well washed wth this, I im'ediately cause abundance of cold fountaine-water to be poured upon me *stillatim*, for a good halfe-hour together; which for the present is not onely one of the most voluptuous and gratefull refreshments imaginable, but an incredible benefit to me the whole yeare after: for I never neede other powdering to my hair, to preserve it bright and cleane, as the gallants do; but which dos certainly greatly prejudice transpiration by filling up, or lying heavy upon the pores. Those therefore, who (since the use of perruqs) accustome to wash their heads, instead of powdering, would doubtlesse find the benefit of it; both as to the preventing of aches in their head, teeth, and eares, if the vicissitude & un-

¹ The Editor is thankful to God that he can and does do this at double the age of Mr. Evelyn, mentioned in the preceding page.—W. B.

constancy of the weather, and consequently the use of their monstrous perruqs, did not expose them to the danger of catching colds. When I travell'd in Italy, and the Southern parts, I did sometimes frequent the publiq bathes (as the manner is), but sel-dome without peril of my life, 'till I us'd this frigid affusion, or rather profusion of cold water before I put on my garments, or durst expose my selfe to the ayre; and for this method I was oblig'd to the old and noble Rantzow, in whose booke *de conservanda valetudine* I had read a passage to this purpose; though I might have remember'd how the Dutchmen treat their labouring horses when they are all over in a froth, which they wash off with severall bucketts of cold water, as I have frequently observ'd it in the Low Countries.¹

Concerning other aydes; besides what the masters of the catoptrics, phonocamptics, otacoustics, &c. have don, something has ben attempted by the R¹: Society; and you know the industrious Kircher has much labour'd; as the rest of those artificial helps are sum'd up by the Jesuite And. Schottus. I remember that Mons^r Huygens (author of the pendulum), who brought up the learned father of that incomparable youth Mons^r de Zulichem, who us'd to prescribe to me the benefit of his little wax taper (a type whereof is, with the history of it, in some of our Registers) for night elucubrations preferable to all other candle or lamplight whatsoever. And because it explodes all glaring of the flame, which by no meanes ought to dart upon the eyes, it seemes very much to establish your happy invention of tubes instead of spectacles, which have not those necessary defences.

Touching the sight of cattis in the night, I am not well satisfied of the exquisiteness of that sense in

¹ The common practice with post-horses in England, in the present day.

them. I believe their smelling or hearing dos much contribute to their dexterity in catching mice, as to all those animals who are born with those prolix smelling haire. Fish will gather themselves in shoales to any extraordinary light in the darke night, & many are best caught by that artifice. But whatever may be said of these, and other senses of fish, you know how much the sagacity of birds & beasts excelle us : how far eagles and vultures, ravens & other fowles will smell the carcase ; *odorumq; canum vis*, as Lucretius expresses it, & we daily find by their drawing after the games. Gesner affirmes that an otter will wind a fish four miles distance in the water, and my Ld: Verulam, cent: 8. speakes of that element's being also a medium of sounds, as well as ayre : eeles do manifestly stirr at the cracking of thunder, but that may also be attributed to some other tremulous motion ; yet carps and other fish are known to come at the call and the sound of a bell, as I have ben inform'd. Notorious is the story of Arion, and of Lucullus's lamprys which came *ad nomen* ; and you have formerly minded me of Varro's Greeke-pipe, of which Lucian and Cicero *ad Atticum* take occasion to speake. Pliny's dolphin is famous, and what is related of the American Manati : but the most stupendous instance, that of the xiphia or sword-fish, which the Mamertines can take up by no other stratagem than a song of certaine barbarous words, as the thing is related by Thom: Fazzello. It is certaine, that we heare more accurately when we hold our mouthes a little open, than when we keepe them shut ; and I haue heard of a dumb gentleman in England, who was taught to speake (and therefore certainly brought to heare in some degree) by applying the head of a bass-viole against his teeth, & striking upon the strings with the bow : you may remember the late effect of the drum extending the

tympanum of a deafe person, to greate improvement of his hearing, so long as that was beaten upon ; and I could at present name a friend of mine, who though he be exceedingly thick of hearing, by applying a straite stick of what length soever, provided it touch the instrument and his eare, dos perfectly, and with greate pleasure heare every tune that is play'd : all which, with many more, will flow into your excellent work, whilst the argument puts me in mind of one Tom Whittal, a student of Christ Church, who would needes maintaine, that if a hole could dexterously be boar'd through the skull to the brain in the midst of the fore-head, a man might both see, and heare, & smell without the use of any other organs ; but you are to know, that this learned problematist was brother to him who preaching at St. Maries, Oxford, tooke his text out of the history of Balaam, Num. 22 : “ Am I not thine asse ? ”

Deare S^r, pardon this rhapsody of,
S^r, y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 27 Aug. 1668.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Clifford,
Treasurer of his Majesty's Household, &c.¹*

Rg^t Honb^{le},

In my conversation sometimes amongst bookes to redeeme my tyme from other impertinencies, I think it my duty to give yo^r Ho^r notice of some pieces which have come to my hands, the subjects whereof I cannot but esteeme highly prejudicial to the honor of his Ma^{tie} and the whole nation, especialy two bookes, the one written in French, the other in Latine (not inelegantly) both with approbation of their superiors, the States of Holland licencing their publi-

¹ Afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England.

cation. The argument of them is a remonstrance to all the world of the occasion, action, and successe of the late war betweene the English & the Dutch ; but withall the topics of reproach and dishonor as to matter of fact; every period being filled with the dissembled instances of our injustice, ingratitude, cruelty, and imprudence ; and the persons of divers particular gallant men engag'd in that action, injuriously treated and accus'd, & in summ, whatever they can else suggest to render his Ma^{tie} and people cheap and vile, the subjects of derision and contempt. I should think in my poore judgment (under submission to a better) that there is nothing which ought to be more precious to a Prince, or his people, than their reputation : sure I am, it is of more value with a man of honor than his life ; and certainly, a greate kingdom, which comprehends so many individuals as have been one way or other concern'd in the publiq interest, ought to be tender of their fame, and consequently oblig'd to vindicate it, and cannot without a crime do lesse, without being wanting to themselves in a most necessary defence.

I know it may be say'd, that this is but a paper quarrell ; but y^r Hon^r dos consider, what effects such malevolent suggestions do produce, & with what a black & deepe malice contriv'd, how far they flie, and how universaly understood the Latine & French tongues are, the one amongst the grave and more intelligent sort (not by way of pamphlet, but of a formal & close treatise), and the other amongst y^e vulgar ; to which is also joyn'd, for the better fixing their injurious ideas, the several types & figures cut in brasse, to represent our misfortunes ; as in particular our want of conduct (as they terme it) in the first encounter, our basenesse in suprising a few poore fishermen, and the firing of Schelling, revenged in the dire conflagration of London, the metropolis of

our nation, the descent they made on Sheer Nesse, and their glorious exploit at Chatham, where they give out we so ridiculously lost, or betraid the creame of our fleete, and bullwarks of the kingdom, by an unparelleled supinenesse: nor this crudely, or in a trifling way of writing; but so as may best affect the passions & prepossesse the judgement and beliefe of the reader. I say nothing of some personal reflections on my L^d Arlington, S^r Rob: Holmes, and even the King himselfe, whom they represent deliberating in a paniq consternation of a flight to Windsor, &c. nor many other particulars pointed at; nor of a thousand other notorious indignities plainly insupportable: But I have sayd enough to inflame a breast sensible of honor, and generous as I know yours to be, to approve, or at least to pardon the proposal which I shall humbly submit to y^r consideration and encouragement, for the vindication of his Ma^{tie} and the nation's honor, and especialy of an action in which your H^r bore so greate & so signal a part. And that were doubtlesse by employing an able pen, not to a formal, or studied reply to any particular of this egregious Libell (which might now happily be thought unseasonable), but to compose a solid and usefull History of the late War, according to the truth of circumstances, and for the honor of those very many brave men who were actors in it, whose names deserve as well to be transmitted to posterity as our meaner antagonists; but which must else dye in obscurity, and what is worse, with obloquy and scorn, not of enemyes alone, but of all that shall reade what these men are permitted to scatter abroad in y^e world, whilst there is no care taken amongst us at home to vindicate them from it.

When I have mention'd to y^r Ho^r the employment of an able pen upon this occasion, I prevented all pretences to it as relating to myselfe; who have

neither the requisite talents, nor the least presumption for it.¹ But I would humbly suggest, how worthy and glorious in y^r Ho^r it would be, to moove my L^d: Arlington, and with him, to provoke his Ma^{tie} to impose this province upon some sober and well instructed person, who, dignified with the character of his Royal Historiographer, might be oblig'd to serve and defend his Ma^{ties}, honor, and that of the publiq, with his pen; a thing so carefully and so industriously observed by y^e French King, and other greate potentates, who have any regards or tendernesse to their owne or their people's glory, the encouragement of gallant men, and prospect of their future stories, as there is nothing more notorious. It is history alone (however the writers of them may be esteem'd) which renders the greatest princes, and the most deserving persons, what they are to the present age; which perfumes their names to posterity, inspires them to an emulation of their vertues, and preserves them from being as much forgotton as the co'mon dust in which they lie mingled. If y^r Ho^r: thinke this worthy y^r thoughts (and worthy of them I pronounce it to be), all that I shall humbly supplicate to you is, that through y^r favour I may present his Ma^{tie}: wth a person highly deserving it; as being one, who has not onely ben a sufferer in his capacity, but one who is perfectly able and accomplish'd to serve his Ma^{tie}: a learned industrious person, and

¹ Mr. Evelyn was however appointed to write this History, and had made considerable progress, when upon the conclusion of the war he was ordered to lay it aside. What he had written is unfortunately lost, except the Preface, which he published in 1674, as a distinct treatise, under the title of "Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progresse:" (reprinted in Evelyn's "Miscellaneous Writings," 1825, 4to. pp. 625-687). This highly pleased the King, but because it gave great offence to the Dutch, it was for a time suppressed. See vol. ii. pp. 218, 223, 225, 253; and succeeding Letters.

who will esteeme himselfe gratified with a very modest subsistence, to be allways at hand, and allways laborious : and not to weare a title (as some triflers have lately don) to the reproch of it. If there be already a tollerable honorary appendant to the place of Historiographer, we have no more to beg, but the graunt of it; if not, that through y^r mediation, some encouragement may be procur'd. It will not be one of y^r least noble things, for which you will merit a just veneration of y^r memory. But I shall add no more at present, because I will beg the grace of a particular permission to discourse this affaire to you, and with the joynt request of my worthy friend Mr. Williamson¹ (who will likewise present y^r Ho^r: with a specimen of the persons abillities) bespeake y^r Ho^{rs} favourable encouragement, who remaine,

Y^r Ho^{rs}: &c.

Sayes-Court, 1 Feb. 1668-9.

To my L^d Henry Howard of Norfolk.

My Lord,

I am not prompted by the successe of my first ad-dresse to y^r Hon^r, when, as much for y^r owne glory, as that of the University's, I prevail'd with you for the Marbles, which were inscriptions in stone; to solicit you now on the same account for y^e Books, which are inscriptions but in parchment: but because I am very confident y^r Hon^r cannot consult a nobler expedient to preserve them, and the memory of y^r name and illustrious family, than by wishing that the Society (on whom you have so generously bestow'd y^r Library) might exchange the MSS. (such onely, I meanè, as

¹ Afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State.

concerne y^e civile lawe, theologie, and other scholastical learning) for mathematical, philosophical, and such other books, as may prove most usefull to the designe and institution of it: especialy, since the University do not onely humbly desire it (as I can testifie by divers letters which I have seene from the Vice-Chancellor, and other eminent persons there), but desire it with a designe of owning it yours, and of perpetuating y^r munificence, by dignifying y^t appartiment where they would place them, with the title of Bibliotheca Arundeliana, than which, what can be more glorious and conspicuous? The learned Selden, S^r Ken: Digby, Archbp. Laud (not to mention S^r Tho: Bodley their founder, and severall others, who are out of all exception) esteem'd this a safer repository, than to have consign'd them to their mansions and posterity; and we have seene, that when their persons, families, and most precious moveables have suffer'd (some of them the uttmmost violences and dispersion), their bookes alone have escaped untouch'd in this sacred asylum, and preserv'd the names of the donors through all vicissitudes. Nor in saying this do I augure lesse of the R^l: Society, should they thinke fit to keepe them in their owne library; but, because by thus parting with such as are foraigne to their studies to the University, your illustrious name and library will be reserv'd in both places at once with equal zeal, and no lesse obligation; when as many as shall have recourse to such bookes at Oxon, as are under the Arundelian title, will have occasion to mention it in their workes and labours to your eternal honour. For my part, I speake it with greate sincerity, and due veneration of y^r L^{ps} bounty, that if I would to the uttmmost of my power consult the advancement of y^r L^{ps} glory in this gift, it should be by declaring my suffrage in behalfe of the Uniuersitie's request. I

sayd as much in the late Council, where I must testifie that even those who were of a contrary sense to some others of us, were yet all of them equally emulous of y^r L^{ps} honour. But, since it was the unanimous result to submit this particular to y^r L^{ps} decision, I cannot, upon most serious reflection on the reasons which I have aledged, and especialy that of preserving y^r name and library by a double consignation, but implore y^r L^{ps} favour and indulgence for y^e University, where y^r munificence is already deeply ingraven in their hearts, as well as in their marbles; and will then shine in letters of a more refulgent lustre: for, methinkes I hear their Publiq Orator, after he has celebrated y^r name amongst the rest of their glorious benefactors and heros, end his panegyric in the resounding theater, as once the noble poet, in the person of the young Arcadian,

Ecl: 7: Nunc te Marmoreum pro tempore fecimus—

We yet, greate Howard, thee but in marble mould,
But if our bookes increase, thou shalt be gold.

I am y^r L^{ps}: &c.

Sayes-Court, 14 Mar: 1669.

*To Dr. Meric Casaubon, Is. Fil.
Prebend of Canterbury, &c.*

Reverend S^r,

Tho' I am a stranger to y^r person, yet the name & the learning w^{ch} you derive both from inheritance, as well as acquisition, draw a just veneration to them. S^r, whilst it has ben lately my hap to write something concerning the nature of forest trees, & their mechanical uses, in turning over many books treating of that & other subjects, I met with divers passages concerning staves, which have in a manner obliged me to say something of them in a treatise

which I am adorning : but whilst I was intent on this, I began to doubt whether I should not *actum agere* ; remembring this passage of y^r father (τοῦ μακαρίτου) in his Com'ent on Theophrastus, p. 172. edit. 1638 : *Sed hæc hactenus ; nam de Baculis et eorum forma, multiplicique apud veteres usu, plurima quæ observavimus ad lucem multorum Scriptorum veterum, alibi, εἰαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, co'modius proferremus.* That which I now would entreate of you, S^r, is to know whether y^r learned father did ever publish any expresse treatise concerning this subject, & if not, that you'l be pleas'd to afford me some short hints of what you see noted in his Adversaria about it : by which meanes you will infinitely oblige me, who shall not faile to let the world know to whose bounty & assistance I am indebted. S^r, that worthy & communicative nature of yours, breathing in y^r excellent writings, prompts me to this great confidence ; but, however my request succeedes, be pleased to pardon the liberty of, R^d Sir, your most humble, tho' unknowne servant, &c.

Sayes-Court, 17 Jan. 1669-70.

To John Evelyn, Esquire.

S^r,

You might have had a more speedy answer to your kind letter, but y^t soon after y^e receipt of it, I fell into my ordinary distemper, which is y^e stone, but with more then ordinary extremities, which hath continued these 3 or 4 dayes already, and what will be y^e end God knows ; to whom, for either life or death, I heartily submit.

Presently after y^e reading of your's I set my selfe to search my father's Adversaria and Papers, and after a little search I found a proper head, or title

de Baculis, as an addition to what he had written upon Theophrastus; and under y^t title, many particular references to all kind of ancient authours, but soe confusedly y^t I thinck noe man but I, y^t have been used to his hand and way, can make any thing of it. There are 2 full sides in q^{uo}. S^r, if God grant me life, or some respite from this present extremitie, it shall be one of y^e first things I shall doe, to send you what he hath written, copyed out in y^e same order as I find it.

Whilst I was searching my father's papers, I lighted on a note concerning Plants and Trees, which I thought fit to impart unto you, because you tell me you have written of trees; you have it here enclosed. Besides this I remember I have, but know not where to find it at this time, Wormij Literatura Danica, where, if I be not much mistaken, he hath somewhat *de Baculis*, there, or in some other treatise I am pretty confident. S^r, I desire you to beleeeve y^t I am very willing to serve any gentleman of your quality in soe reasonable a request. But if you be y^e gentleman, as I suppose, who have set out y^e first booke of Lucretius in English, I must needes confesse myselfe much indebted to you, though I never had y^e opportunitie to professe it, for y^t honourable mention which you were pleased to make of me in your preface. Whatsoever I should thinck of your work or translation, yet civility would engage me to say soe much. But truly, S^r, if you will beleeeve me, who I thinck was never accounted a flatterer by them y^t have known me, my iudgement is, y^t you have acquitted yourselfe of y^t knotty business much better then I thought could be done by any man, though I thinck those excellent parts might deserve a more florid and proper subiect; but I submit to your better iudgement.

S^r, it hath been some taske to me to find soe

much free time to dictate soe much : if there be any thing impertinent, I desire you will be pleased to consider my case. Soe I take my leave, and rest,

Your very humble servant,

MERIC CASAUBON.¹

January 24, 1669-70.

To Dr. Meric Casaubon, Isaaci Fil.

Rev^d S^r,

There was no danger I should forget to return you notice of the favour I yesterday received, where I find my obligations to you so much improv'd, by the treasure they convey'd me ; and that it is to you I am to owe the greatest and best of my subsidiaries. There are many things in your paper which formerly I had noted ; but more which I should never have observ'd ; and therefore both for confirming my owne, and adding so many more, and so excellent, I think my selfe sacredly engag'd to publish my greate acknowledgements, as becomes a beneficiarie. As to the crude and hastie putting this trifle of mine abroad into the world, there is no danger ;² since I should thereby deprive my selfe of those other assistances which your generous bounty has in store for me ; nor are those materials which lie by me, brought into any tollerable order yet, as not intended for any worke of labour, but refreshment, when I am tired with other more serious studies. Thus, S^r, you see

¹ This Letter is not written by Mr. Casaubon, but only bears his signature.

² Amongst Mr. Evelyn's papers there is a small fragment of this treatise in Latin, consisting only of 2 or 3 pages ; it does not appear that it was ever finished. From an introductory paragraph, it should seem to have been intended as a jocular piece ; but the small part which is written is grave and solemn. It begins with the staff which Jacob used when he met his brother Esau.

me doubly oblig'd to returne you my thanks for this greate humanity of yours, and to implore the divine goodnesse to restore you to your health, who am,

Rev^d Sir,
Y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 24 Jan. 1669-70.

To my Lord High Treasurer of England
[Clifford].

Rig^t hon^{ble},

I should much sooner have made good my promise of transmitting to y^r Hon^r, y^e inclosed synopsis (containing the briefe, or heads of the work I am travelling on) if, besides y^e number of bookes & papers that I have ben condemn'd (as it were) to reade over and diligently peruse, there had not lately ben put into my hands a monstrous folio, written in Dutch,¹ which containes no lesse than 1079 pages, elegantly and carefully printed at the Hague this last yeare ; and what fills me with indignation, derogating from his Ma^{tie} & our Nation : the subiect of it being principaly y^e warr with England not yet brought to a period, which prompts me to believe there is another volume preparing on the same argument. By the extraordinary industrie used in this, and the choice pieces I find they have furnish'd the author with, his Ma^{tie} and y^r L^p will see that to write such an historie as may not onely deliver truth and matter of fact to posterity, but vindicate our prince and his people from the prepossessions & disadvantages they lie under (whilst, remaining thus long silent, we in a manner justify their reproches), will require more time to finish than at the first setting out could well

¹ "Saken van Stuet en Oorlogh door d'Heer Lieuwe Van Aitzema," &c.

have ben imagin'd. My Lord, I dare affirme it without much vanity, that had I been ambitious to present his Ma^{tie} with a specimen onely of my diligence, since first I received his com'ands, I could long ere this have prevented these gent. who, I am told, are already upon the Dutch war. There had nothing ben more easy than after a florid preamble to have publish'd a laudable description & image of the severall conflicts, & to have gratified abundance of worthy persons who were actors in them; but since my Lord Arlington and y^r L^p expect from me a solemn deduction and true state of all affaires & particulars from his Ma^{ties} first entring into treaty with the States at his arrival in England, to the yeare 1667, nay to this instant period (which will comprehend so greate & so signal a part of his glorious reigne), I easily believe his Ma^{tie} will neither believe the time long nor me altogether indilligent, if he do not receive this historie so soone as otherwise he might have expected. All I will add in relation to myselfe is this; that as I have not for many moneths don any thing else (taking leave of all my delightfull studies), so by God's help I intend to prosecute what I have begun, with the same fervour & application. Your Lo^p will consider how irksome a taske it is to reade over such multitudes of books, remonstrances, treatises, journals, libells, pamphlets, letters, papers, & transactions of state, as of necessity must be don before one can set pen to paper. It would affright y^r Lo^p to see the heapes that lie here about me, & yet is this the least part of the drudgerie and paines, which consists in the judgment to elect and cull out, and then to dispose & place the materials fitly; to answer many bitter and malicious objections, & dextrously, & yet candidly, to ward some unlucky points that are not seldome made at us; and after all this the labour of

the pen will not be inconsiderable. I speake not this to inhaunce of the instrument, but rather that I may obtaine pardon for the lapses I may fall into, notwithstanding all this zeale & circumspection: and that his Ma^{tie} will graciously accept of my endeavours, and protect me from the unkindnesses of such as use to decry all things of this nature for a single mistake; or because some lesse worthy men find not themselves or relations flatter'd, and be not satisfied that (tho' they deserve not much) they are no way disoblig'd. As to the method, I have bethoughte myselfe of this (if y^r L^p confirme it) namely, to transmit the papers (as fast as I shall bring them to any competent period) to my Lo: Arlington and y^r L^p: that so being com'unicated (thro' both y^r favours) to his Ma^{tie} before they swell into enormous bulke, he may cast his royal eye over them with lesse trouble, and animadvert upon them 'til they are refin'd and fit for his gracious approbation; since by this meanes I shall hope to attaine two greate things; the performing of his Ma^{ties} pleasure, and that part of a true historian, which is to deliver truth; and he (I think) who attaines to this, *omne tulit punctum*.—But, my Lord, there are yet divers considerable papers and pieces which I want; letters, treaties, articles, and instructions to ambassadors, &c. which I can only receive from Mr. Secretarie and from y^r L^p, that so I may not be impos'd on by such memoires and transactions of state as I find to my hand (if I durst adventure on the coyne) in the books of our antagonists publish'd with a confidence so frontlesse. But since I may not well hope for these and other personal and living assistances (as I shall also have neede of) 'till the more urgent affaires of Parliament are over, I do in the meane time employ my selfe in adorning a preface (of which I here inclose y^r L^p a sum'arie) and go on in reading, and

collection of materials, that when I shall have receiv'd those other desiderates, I may proceede to y^e compiling part, and of knitting together what I have made some progresse in.

I am, my Lord, y^r Ho^{rs}, &c.

Sayes-Court, 20 Jan. 1670.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

It is not my fault, but misfortune, that you have not 'ere this received a full account of the time which (by y^r particular favour to me) I acknowledge to be wholly yours: your L^p has sometime since justified y^e quæries which I first drew up, that they were material, & promis'd I should not want y^r assistance in the solution of them; but the recesse of the Court, and consequently y^r Lo^{ps} absence, & otherways want of opportunity, & pressure of affaires, has depriv'd me of receiving those necessarie directions which so important a subject as that under my hand dos require: but tho' this might serve somewhat to extenuate what may be thought wanting to my industrie, yet I hope I shall not be found to have trifled in that which I am preparing to put shortly into y^r hands; namely, the two former parts of the Historie, which (if y^r Lo^p likewise approve) I think of disposing into the following periods. The first (giving a succinct account of their original, for methods sake) comprehends the state of the Hollanders in relation to England, especially their defection from y^e Crowne of Spaine, a^o 1586, til his present Ma^{ties} happy Restauration, 1660; and herein, a deduction of all the notorious injuries & affronts which y^e English have suffer'd from the Dutch, and what rebukes they have received for them from the powers who first made

warr against them, & from his Ma^{tie}, whom they compell'd to make another. The second sets forth at large the course and progresse of the late differences, from his Ma^{ties} returne a^o 1660, to the year 1666 (inclusively) by which time (his Ma^{ties} Ambass^{rs} being recal'd from their respective ministeries abroad) the warr was fully indicted. This period more especially relates his Ma^{ties} endeavor to have compos'd matters in dispute between his subiects and the Dutch : answers all their cavells, vindicates his honor, states the aggression, treaties wth Munster ; describes the first battail, the action at Bergen ; transacts with the Dane, with the French, the rupture with both ; together with all the intercurrent exploits at Guiny, the Mediterranean, West Indies, and other signal particulars, in 169 paragraphs or sections ; and thus far it is already advanced. The third and last period includes the *status* or height of the warr (against the three greate potentates we named) to the conclusion of it in the Treaty at Breda, 1667, in w^{ch} I shall not omit any of those numerous particulars presented to his Ma^{tie} thro' my Lord Arlington's hands, in my first project of the work, nor any thing else which y^r Lo^p shall com'and me to insert.

The two former parts being already dispatch'd, want nothing save y^e transcribing, which I therefore have not thought convenient to hasten, 'til I receive your Lo^{ps} directions in the difficulties which I herewith transmit ; upon returne whereof, I shall soone present his Ma^{tie} with the better part of this worke ; and then, as his Ma^{tie} shall approve of my dilligence, proceede with the remainder, which I hope will not take up so long a time. If it shall be thought fit hereafter to cast it into other languages, especially Latine or French, it may be considerably contracted, so very many particulars in the English relating onely to companies & more domestiq concernes, in a legal

style, full of tedious memorials and altercations of merchants; which (tho' now requisite to deduce somewhat more at large for the justification of his Ma^{ties} satisfaction of his subiects, and as a testimonie publish'd from authentiq records amongst ourselves) will be of little importance to forrainers, and especialy greate persons, curious & learned men, who are to be entertain'd with refin'd and succinct narratives, & so far with the cause of the warr, as may best imprint the sense of the wrongs we have sustain'd, take off the prejudices our enemies have prepossess'd them with, together with the most shining matter of fact becoming the style of historie.

I now send y^r Lo^p my Preface; it is in obedience to a particular suggestion of my Lord Arlington's, requiring of me a compleate deduction of the progresse of navigation & com'erce, from its first principle to y^e present age: and certainly not without greate judgement; since (as his Lo^p well observ'd) all our contests & differences wth the Hollanders at sea derive onely from that sourse: and if the Introduction (for a page or two) seeme lesse severe than becomes the fore-lorne of so rude a subject as follows it, I have this to say, that as no man willingly embarks in a storme, so I am perswaded y^r Lo^p will not condemne me when you have perus'd it to the end, & consider'd how im'ence an ocean I have pass'd to bring it home to the argument in hand, and yet in how contracted a space I have assembl'd together that multitude of particulars the most illustrious; taken in all that is material, and more (permit me to affirme) then is to be found in many authors of greate bulke, much lesse in any one single treatise, ancient or modern; by which y^r Lp. may perhapes a little estimate the dilligence that has ben used, and that I can do nothing which your Lordshipe thinks fit to com'and me, superficially. I confesse it were yet

capable of politure, and would shew much brighter in another dresse among the curious, to whom singly it might happily prove no unacceptable entertainment: I could yet also add considerably to it, but some perhaps may think it already too large for a *vestibule*, tho' that will best appeare when the superstructure is finish'd, which, if my calculation abuse me not (from the model already fram'd, & in good part advanc'd) will amount to at the least 800 or 1000 pages in folio, notwithstanding all the care I can apply to avoid impertinences, as far as consists with integrity, & the numerous particulars which necessarily crowd into so active and extensive a warr. Sure I am (whatever may be objected) 'tis apposite & proper to the subject and the occasion of it, & stands & falls by y^r Lo^{ps} suffrage. His Ma^{ty} has yet two sheetes, which I beseech y^r Lo^p to retrieve for me; and after y^r animadversions on this, I will waite upon your Lo^p, & receive your farther directions to,

My Lord, &c.

Sayes-Court, 31 Aug. 1671.

From John Evelyn to the Rev. Father Patrick.

Sayes-Court, 27 Sept. 1671, hoc Sanctum
Benedictum.

R: Father,

You require me to give you an account in writing, what the doctrine of the Church of England is concerning the B. Eucharist? and in particular, whether there be any thing in it signifying to adoration? which, I conceive, an expression of mine one day at Mr. Treasurer's, might occasion. Though I cannot suppose you to be at all ignorant of what her opinion is in these matters; and that indeede you ought to enquire concerning them of some of our learned Prelates and Doctors, whose province it is to unfold these

mysteries; yet since you command it, and that I reade in the Apostle¹ how every one is obliged to render an answer to those who demand a reason of the hope which is in them: I do with all alacrity comply with your desires, as far as my talent reaches.²

1. The doctrine of the Church of England is, or at least to my best understanding, imports, that after the prayer, or words of consecration, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, spiritual, and real manner; and that all initiated, or baptized persons, of competent age and capacity, who by unfained repentance, and a faithful consideration of the life, doctrine, and passion of our B. Saviour, resolve to undertake his holy religion, and to persist in it, are made really participants of the benefits of his body and blood for the remission of their sins, and the obtaining of all other spiritual graces; inasmuch, as it is a revival of the sacrifice of Christ on the crosse, *once* offered for sin, and for ever effectual; and a renewing of the covenant of grace to the penitent.

But she who affirmes this, holds also, that even after the words of consecration (or, rather, efficacy of the benediction) the bodily substance of the elements remaine; yet so as to become the instruments of the Divine Spirit, conveying its influence and operation to the prepared recipient: and therefore she dos not behold the elements altogether such as naturally they are to the corporal refection; but (as Theodoret speakes) upon the change of the names, the change which grace superinduces. Or, if you like it better; not merely bread and wine, naked figures and representations; but such as exhibite Christ himselfe, and puts the worthy communicant into sure possession of him. In a word, they are seales to superiour excellencies, give fœderal title to God's promises; and

¹ 1 Peter, ch. 3. v. 15.

² See note on this passage in p. 388.

though they are not changed in natural qualities, yet are applicable of divine benefits, and a solemn profession of our faith, &c. And upon this account, the mysterious presence of Christ she holds to be a greater miracle, engaging the infinite power of God, to render the flesh and blood of Christ so present in the elements by effect and benediction, as that the worthy receiver as really communicates in reference to his spirit, as he sacramentally communicates in reference to his body; the mystical presence being present with the material, by a supernatural conjunction really tendered to the faithful.

I could add infinite other formes to expresse the same thing, but this I take to be the cleare sense of the article; and can, when you command me, defend it by the best and noblest instances of Scriptures, Fathers, and reason;¹ but you have not required it, and it were too tedious for a letter. Let it suffice, that the difference between us and the Church of Rome consists chiefly in the definition of the manner of the change; the *quomodo* or *modus*; about which (not to recite here what Ockham, Cajetan, Biel, &c. say) when P. Lombard had (as himselfe professes) collected the opinions and sentences of all the antients, he ingenuously acknowledges he could no way make out that there was any substantial conversion; for the doctrine was then in the cradle; and when afterwards it grew up, and became an article of faith, Durandus says, plainly, the matter of bread remained, *Modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus*, and so says the Church of England: it was then left free. Why should it not be so still? We both affirm a change and the reality of it; onely we retaine the antient and middle belief, and presume not to determine the manner of it; because we find it no where revealed; and can produce irrefragable testimonies for 1200

¹ See note on this passage in p. 389.

years, to explode the gross and material sense which the later age has forced upon it, when to assert it they tell us that a body consisting of all its physical dimensions and parts, occupies neither place nor space, but is reduced to a point invisible : that meer accidents can inhere without subject : that colour, tast, smell, and the tactile qualities can subsist after the destruction of the substance : that bodys are penetrable : that the same individual thing may be at the same time in different places visible and invisible at the same period : that the same proposition may be absolutely true and false in the same instance : that contradictions may consist with God's veracity : that Christ devoured himselfe, and that his body was broaken and torne with teeth, when it was yet whole and entire : that Christ's body may be eaten, though only accidents be manducated and chewed : that a sacrifice should be made without the destruction of the oblation, and a thousand other impossibilities, riddles, and illogical deductions extinguishing the eye of reason, and making an error necessary to salvation. In brief, this new-minted transubstantiation, abhorring from the genuine and rational sense of the text, substitutes a device not only incredible, but impossible ; so as Christians, who are enjoined to offer up a rational liturgy and service, or reason of the hope which should be in them, must bid defiance to it ; for they must not believe their eyes, nor tast, nor touch, nor smell (the criterions by which St. John confirms the Christian doctrine, *quod vidimus oculis nostris, quod perspeximus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt, &c.*)¹ But they must renounce them all, and not onely quit the common principles of sciences, but even common sense. I will say nothing of those who have taken in these strang impressions with their milk, considering the incredible force of education : and

¹ 1 Jo. ch. 1. v. 1-3 ; 4 Acts, v. 20.

that the profoundest learned amongst the heathen were not secured by it from the grossest errors upon this account. One would yet have thought the wise Athenians¹ needed not a lecture from St. Paule upon the topicks he preached; but that persons enlightened as the Doctors of the Church of Rome pretend to be, should fall into absurdities so illogical and destructive to the very definition of that which discriminates men from bruits, is plainly stupendous; and seemes, methinks, to be pointed at by the greates apostle, where he tells us in the later days, that God shall send some of them strong delusions,² and you know what follows. He would be thought a thick-skinn'd doctor in any of their owne, as well as our scholes, who skill'd not to discern how a thing might be real, and yet spiritual, or, as if nothing were real, but what were corporeal and natural. These do not consider how God himselfe operates on the conscience and soules of men, and that the gifts of his sacred spirit are real graces, and yet not things intelligible and sensible as bodys are. That the Church of England believes a *real presence*, she expresses in the Canon of her Eucharistical office,³ *verily* and *indeede*, and than *that*, what can be more *real*?

To object, that the faith in the Holy Trinity obliges us to as greates a difficulty as the Pontifician modalitie, is very trifling, since that is onely matter of believe indefinite. We are not required to explaine the manner of the mysterie; nor have we, or the most metaphysical wit living, faculties and adequate instruments to dissolve that knot: spiritual things belong to spirits; we can have no notices proportionable to them; and yet, though they are unfathomable by our reason, they are not inconsistent with it, nor do they violate our understanding by enjoining non-

¹ 7 Acts, v. 22, &c.

² 2 Thess. ch. 2. v. 11.

³ See y^e Catech: in Book of Common Prayer.

sense. They indeede exceede our explications, but disparage not our Religion; rather they procure it veneration; since there are in nature and common objects, things which we know to be, but know not how they be. But when the dispute (as in this of the Holy Eucharist) is of bodyes and material things, we can define, and may pronounce concerning their affections and possibilities; they are obnoxious to sense, and fall justly under our cognizance and explication. But y^r R: enjoyns me to say what our Church permits her sons to believe concerning Adoration; I will tell you, the very same that St. Augustine, *Nemo digne manducat, nisi prius adoraverit*: she holds therefore, that the Holy Eucharist is an homage, and an Act of Adoration, and receives it in that humble gesture; for Christ being there present in an extraordinary manner, she worships him at a tyme when he exhibits himselfe to her in so extraordinary and mysterious a manner, and with so greate advantages; but then this Act is to her Blessed Lord, as God's right hand; or, if it please you better, she adores the flesh and blood of her Saviour in the mysterie, and venerable usage of the symbols, representing and imparting it to our soules: but she gives no divine honours to the bare symbols, without that signification: since it is certain, had the primitive Christians don otherwise,¹ their enemies would have said, they worshipped the work of their own hands too, and so retorted their reproches. The Church of England, and we her sons, worship what we know; you worship what you know not; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Species, and accidents, representations and meere creatures, though consecrated to holy uses, are not proper objects of adoration; God is a jealous God, and it would be seriously considered how innumerable the contingencies are

¹. See Minutius Felix Octav.

(though your opinions were tollerable) that render your manner of worshiping the Host extreamely obnoxious and full of perill; since the possible circumstances and defects of the priest's ordination, consecration, recitation of the words, want of intention, impuritie of the elements, their disproportion and mixture; if the priest be illegitimate, simoniacal, or irregular, and severall other impediments of the like nature, render the adorers grosse idolaters by your owne tenets and confession.

I have but a word to add, and that is concerning the Oblation, in which the Church of England differs from that of Rome. She affirmes, that the notion amongst the antients imported onely *Oblatum celebrare, et memoria renovare*; and, that if Christ were really offered (as you pretend) he must every time be put to death againe. But St. Paule tells us plainly he was but once¹ offered, as now shortly on Good Friday he is sayd to be crucified, and at Christmas to be borne, &c. But we add, if Christ delivered his holy body, and sacrific'd it in a natural sense, when he instituted the h: Sacrament, before his real passion on the Crosse (as, according to you, indisputably he did), it could not be propitiatory; and if were not propitiatory, what becomes of your Masse? For if it was propitiatory when he instituted it, his blessed Father was reconciled before his suffering, which I think we neither dare to affirme. It was then representative and memorative onely, of what *was to be*, as now it is to us, of what it has already ben: and yet the Church of England dos for all this acknowledge it in another sense to be a sacrifice, both propitiatory and impetratory; because the oblation of it to God with and by the prayers and praises of her members, dos render God propitious, by obtaining the benefits which the death of our Lord dos

¹ Compare 6 Romans, and 9 Heb.

represent ; and therefore over it we beseech God for the universal peace of the Church ; for the state of the world ; for Kings, Priests, and Magistrates ; for the sick ; for a glorious resurrection of the saints.¹ In sum, with St. Cyrill, we implore that it may moove God to grant all that is desired by the regular and assiduous offices of the Catholique Church, especialy of those who at that time offer and communicate :

This, R: F., is the best account I am able for the present, and in so short limits, to give you : it is what our Church will owne, what I believe, and what I endeavour to practise, and who in greate charity and humility subscribe myselfe,

R. Fr.

Your most faithfull servant,

J. EVELYN.

S^t, you must pardon my frequent blotts, &c.

For the R. F. Patrick.

Note to page 382.

If it be transubstantiated, tis a miracle ; now our b: Saviour never did miracles (that we read of), but the visible change was apparent to all the world, as from blindness to sight, from sickness to health, from death to life ; so the loaves were augmented, the water converted to wine, &c. : but here is a miracle wrought without any visible change, which we never read he did, and is indeed a contradiction, and destroys the effect of our common sense and reason, by which alone we have assurance of all that Christ did and

¹ See y^e prayer in our Com'union Office, for y^e whole state of Christ's Church militant, &c.

suffered ; and if we may not credit these, we may justly doubt of the whole Chr: Religion itselfe ; which God would never tempt his rational creatures to do.

Note to page 383.

And now we mentioned Fathers, there occurs to me one passage in that excellent treatise of St. Aug: " De Doctrina Christ: " B. 3. c. 6. upon that famous period in St. John, on which our antagonists put so much stresse, that as it instructs us how to interpret the literal sense of divers the like places in Scripture, so has it perfectly convinced me as to the meaning of that pretended difficulty : I say so fully, as I dare oppose it to whatsoever can be produced out of all the Fathers of the Church (as they call them) put all together. The words are these—*si preceptiva*, &c. If a preceptive speech or expression seemes to injoyne a thing that is flagitious or wicked, or to prohibite a beneficiall or profitable thing, it is figuratively to be taken ; *e. g.* ' Except ye eate the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood (says our Saviour), ye shall have no life in you.' This seems to com'and a flagitious and unlawful thing, 'tis therefore figurative, injoyning us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and sweetely and profitably to keep in mind that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us : and this is plainly the sense and the voice of the Church of England, that I think men must be out of their witts to contend against it. I could yet augment the number of as plain testimonys and suffrages from more of those good men ; but it is unnecessary.

To my Lord Treasurer.

My Lord,

I was yesterday at Whitehall to waite on y^r Lo^p, and a little to expostulate with you upon the work enjoyn'd me, for want of that assistance which Mr. Secretary promis'd from time to time ; so as unlesse y^r Lo^p interpose and procure those papers, I must desist, and go no further : 'tis, my Lord, a grave and weighty undertaking in this nice & captious age, to deliver to posterity a three-years war, of three the greatest powers and potentates of Europe against one nation newly restor'd, and even at that period conflicting with so many calamities besides. If this deserve no application extraordinary, I have taken but ill measures when I entred on it ; but I rely on y^r L^p, whose com'ands first animated, & by whose influence onely I care to proceede. If the materials I have amass'd lie still in heapes, blame not me, who write not for glory, unlesse you approve of what I write, and assist the deferrent, for I am no more. Tis matters of fact his Ma^{ty} would have me deliver to the world ; let me have them authentic then, and now especialy in this crisis of exinanition (with grieve & indignation I speake it), and that the whole nation is sinking. As to the action at Bergen, I am ready to transmit what I have drawn up, but it shall go no further 'til you cast your eye upon it, since without y^r Lo^{ps} approbation (after the measures I have taken of y^r comprehensive and consum'ate judgement, *quorumq; pars ipse fuisti*, I neither can nor ought to like any thing I do : but this, either your modestie or buisnesse denys me, & unlesse I overcome it, let all I have don wither & rise no more. Augustus Cæsar had weighty affaires on his hand, but he suffer'd nothing to pine of lesser concerne, when he

sometimes heard poems recited ; and Scipio would converse with Lælius, and often with Lucullus too ; and will you let your country suffer, and that which you with so much earnestnesse and vigour press'd might be publish'd with the greatest expedition, languish now for want of your assistance ? My Lord, what you were wont to say was prediction, and we are already blown upon and profan'd without recovery. The inscription¹ I here inclose will more than a little discover that it were high time to think of all imaginable ways to recover the dignity of the nation ; and I yet assure mysele y^r Lo^p has ben inflam'd with a disdaine becoming you at the sound of this disgrace : I do protest solemnly, I have not in my life receiv'd a more sensible mortification. O that ever his Ma^{tie} and this glorious country should in our time (and when y^r Lo^p sits at the helme) succumb under the reproch ; see our selves buried alive, & our honor (which is ten thousand times more precious than life) borne thus away by a perfidious and ungratefull people ! To see our glory drag'd in triumph, and a pillar to our infamie set up on that foule turfe which had not ben a name but for our indulgence. I dare say, my Lord, your heart is as big as y^r breast can containe, and that you would be one of the first should even devote themselves to tare downe that impudent trophy, and take away our reproch ; and if God Almighty do not shortly stir up amongst us some such generous indignation, I do not for my part desire to live, & see the ruines that are coming on us : but this is reserv'd for men of greate hearts, and for such as y^r Lo^p. My part will be to represent it so, when I come to that cutting period. If it incite not all that call themselves English to rise as one man in rescue of our honour, the whole world will blush at our stupid *lachetè*, and

¹ Set up for De Witt on his exploit at Chatham.

the ingratitude of our foes be styl'd a vertue. Let me, therefore, my Lord, receive y^r further directions seasonably, that whilst you still incite me to dispatch, your Lo^p not furnishing me those pieces, render it impossible to advance.

I am, my Lord, &c.

Sayes-Court, Nov. 14, 1671.

Desiderata.—The particulars of the Treaty with the Dutch after the first war wth y^e Parliam^t, to be found (I suppose) in the Paper Office.

2. What com'ission was given De Ruyter when he went to Ginne, of which we charge the States?

3. Mr. Hen. Coventries instructions for Sweden, so far as concernes the action at Bergen.

4. Coll. Nichols's instruction, &c. with the Articles of the reddition of New Amsterdam.

5. Lord Fitz Harding's instructions, which I suspect are corrupted in the Dutch relations.

6. The instructions of S^r Walter Vane sent to the Duke of Brandenburg.

7. His Ma^{ties} treatie with the Bishop of Munster.

8. By whose importunitie was the saile slacken'd in the first encounter with the Dutch, or whether I am to blanch this particular?

9. What particular gent. volunteers, &c. am I more especialy to mention for their behaviour in the first engagement.

10. Was Mr. Boyle's head carried into the sea from the trunk?

11. Did there no wound or bruise appeare upon my Lord Falmouth's body?

12. On whom is the breaking bulke of the E. India prizes to be realy charged?

13. Did Bastian Senten board the Earle of Sandwich, take downe the blew flag, set up the orange,

& possesse him 3 houres, as the Dutch relations pretend?

14. Sir Gilbert Talbot's letter to the Commander in Chiefe at Bergen, which I find not in y^r Lo^{ps} papers.

15. I desire the order y^r Lo^p promis'd me to the Cleark of y^e Parliament, that I may search the Journals for those important particulars your Lo^p mentioned, &c.

To my Lord High Treasurer (Clifford).¹

My Lord,

According to my duty, I send y^r L^p the lett^{rs} and papers which your L^p has ben pleas'd to trust me withall, for the compiling of that part of y^e History of the late Warr, which (having receiv'd both his Ma^{ties} and y^r Lo^{ps} approbation) I designe to publish, and the rather because I have no other meanes to expresse my greate obligations to y^r L^p than to set that forth, in which y^r Lo^{ps} courage & virtue has ben so conspicuous. And now, my Lord, the greate abilitie, uprightness, and integritie which y^r L^p has made to give lustre thro' the rest of those high offices and charges which you have rather dignified, than they your L^p, makes me perfectly deplore y^r L^{ps} so solemn, so extraordinary, & so voluntarie a recesse. I am deeply sensible of my owne greate losse by it, because I have found y^r L^p has ever ben the most obliging to me; but much more of the publiq. I pray God to blesse y^r L^p, and humbly beg this favour, that you will still

¹ Mr. Evelyn wrote a congratulatory letter to Sir Tho. Clifford on his being made a Peer, and in the margin added this note: "Who was ever a most obliging friend to me in particular, and after Treasurer (whatever his other failings were), a person of as cleane hands and generous a mind, as any who have succeeded in that high trust."

reguard me as y^r most gratefull beneficiary, & reckone me amongst the number of those who not onely make the sincerest professions, but who realy are what they professe, w^{ch} is to be,

My Lord, &c.

Sayes-Court, 21 Aug. 1672.

To the Lord Viscount Cornbery.

My Lord,

I think it is not unknown to y^r L^p that I have sometime since ben com'anded by his Ma^{ty} to draw up a narrative of the occasions of the first Dutch Warr; in order to which my Lord Clifford acquaints me he did formerly and dos still continue to desire of you, that you would be pleas'd to give me the perusal of S^r Geo: Downings dispatches to my Lord Chancelor y^r father, which (as I remember) you told me were at Cornbery, where now you are. My Lord, 'tis an extraordinary mortification to me, that my untoward employments here have not suffer'd me to waite upon you all this time of y^r sweete recesse, that I might also have seen how that place is adorn'd and improv'd since I was there, & where I might likewise have seene those papers, without giving y^r Lo^p this trouble; but y^r L^p will consider my present condition, & may be assur'd that I shall make use onely of such particulars as conduce to y^e province impos'd on me by his Ma^{tie}. I would likewise be glad to know what light y^r Lo^p can give me out of the lett^{rs} & dispatches of my Lord Holles, Mr. Coventrie, & S^r Gilbert Talbot, which have all of them an influence into that affaire, as it concern'd France, Denmark, and Sweden, upon which I am also directed to touch, but shall not be able to do it with any satisfaction, unlesse y^r Lo^p

favour me with the com'unication of the subsidiaries in y^r Cabinet, who am, my Lord, &c.

Whitehall, 17 Sept. 1672.

To the Duchesse of Newcastle, &c. at Bolsover¹ (when she sent me her Works).

May it please y^r Grace,

I go not into my study without reproch to my prodigious ingratitude, whilst I behold such a pile of favours & monuments of y^r incomparable spirit, without having yet had the good fortune, or the good manners indeede, to make my recognitions as becomes a person so immensely oblig'd. That I presume to make this small present to y^r Grace (who were pleas'd to accept my collection of Architects, to whom timber and planting are subsidiaries) is not for the dignitie of the subject (tho' Princes have not disdain'd to cultivate trees & gardens with the same hands they manag'd sceptres), but because it is the best expression of my gratitude that I can returne. Nor, Madame, is it by this that I intend to pay all my homage for that glorious present, which merits so many encomiums, or write a panegyric of y^r virtues, which all the world admires, least the indignitie of my style should prophane a thing so sacred; but to repeate my

¹ This letter might be considered as a banter on this extraordinary lady (of whom see vol. ii. pp. 216, 217, 218), were it not remembered that the homage paid to high rank and riches at that time of day was excessive; and that Mr. Evelyn was himself very profuse of compliment in his dedications and letters of acknowledgment. If the reader will turn to a very scarce and curious volume, entitled, "A Collection of Letters and Poems, written by several Persons of Honour and Learning upon divers important subjects to the late Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, London, 1678," he will find that not only learned men, but learned bodies of men, made use of the same terms in celebrating the talents and accomplishments of these noble authors.

admiration of y^r genius, & sublime witt so comprehensive of the most abstracted appearances, & so admirable in your sex, or rather in your Grace's person alone, which I never call to mind but to rank it amongst y^e Heroines, and constellate with the Graces: such of ancient daies were Zenobia, Queene of Palmyra, that writ the Historie of her country, as y^r Grace has don that of my Lord Duke y^r husband, worthy to be transmitted to posteritie. What should I speak of Hilpylas, the mother-in-law of young Plinie, & of his admirable wife! of Pulcheria, daughter to the Emp. Arcadius; or of Anna, who call'd Alexius father, & writ 15 books of historie, &c.! Your Grace has title to all their perfections. I passe Cornelia, so neere the greate Scipio, & mother of the Gracchi, to come to the later wits, Isabella, Queene of Castile, wife of Ferdinand, K. of Arragon, of which bed came the first Charles, & the mother of foure learned daughters, of whom was one Catherine, wife to our Henry the 8th; Mary of Portugal, wife to John Duke of Braganza (related to her Ma^{tie} the Queene Consort), rarely skill'd in the mathematical sciences; so was her sister, espoused to Alexander Duke of Parma; Lucretia d'Esté, of the house of Ferrara; Dutchess of Urbin, a profound philosopher; Vittoria Colonna, wife of Ferdinand d'Avila, Marquis of Pescara, whose poetrie equal'd that of y^e renowned Petrarch; Hippolita Strozzi, daughter to Fran: Duke of Milan; Mary of Arragon; Marques de Vasco, Fabiala, Marcella, Eustochium, St. Catharine of Sienna, St. Bridget & Therese (for even the greatest saints have cultivated the sciences), Fulvia Morata, Isabella Andreini, Margarite of Valois (sister to Francis the First, and grand-mother to the greate Henry of France), whose novells are equal to those of y^e witty Boccaccio, & the memoires of another Margarite, wife of this greate Prince, that name having

ben so fertil for ladys of the sublimest genius. Catharine de Roches of Poitiers was a celebrated wit, & Claudia de Cleremont, Dutchesse of Retz, Mary de Gournay, & the famous Anna M. Schurman : and of our owne country, Queene Elizabeth, Queene Jane, the Lady Weston, Mrs. Philips our late Orinda, the daughters of S^r Tho: More; the Queene Christina of Sweden, & Elizabeth, daughter of a Queene also, to whom the renowned Des Cartes dedicated his learned worke, & the profound researches of his extraordinary talent. But all these, I say, sum'd together, possesse but that divided, which y^r Grace retaines in one; so as Lucretia Marinella, who writ a book (in 1601), *dell' Eccellenzia delle Donne, con difetti é mancamenti de gli huomini*, had no neede to have assembled so many instances & arguments to adorne the work, had she lived to be witnesse of Margarite, Dutchesse of Newcastle, to have read her writings, & to have heard her discourse of the science she comprehended: I do, Madame, acknowledge my astonishment, & can hardly think too greate of those soules, who, resembling y^r Grace's, seeme to be as it were wholly separate from matter, & to revolve nothing in their thoughts but universal ideas. For what of sublime & worthy in the nature of things, dos not y^r Grace comprehend, and explaine! What of greate & noble, that y^r illustrious Lord has not adorn'd, for I must not forget the munificent present of his very usefull book of Horsemanship, together with y^r Graces works upon all the profound as well as politer subjects, which I receiv'd of S^r Fran: Tapps from both y^r Graces hands; but this accumulation ought to be the argument of a fresh and more ample acknowledgement, for which this paper is too narrow. My wife (whom you have ben pleas'd to dignifie by the name of y^r daughter, & to tell her that you looke upon her as your owne, for a mother's sake of hers,

who had so greate a veneration of y^r Grace) presents her most humble duty to you by, Madame,

Y^r Grace's, &c.

Sayes-Court, 15 June, 1674.

To Doctor Meric Casaubon, Isaaci Fil.¹

Rev^d S^r,

I am infinitely oblig'd to you for y^r civil reply to my lett^r; but am not a little troubl'd, that it should importune you in a time when you w^{ere} indispos'd. The stone is an infirmity, which I am daily taught to co'misserate in my poore afflicted & deare Brother who languishes under that torture, and therefore am much concern'd when I heare of any that are exercis'd under that sad affliction: I will therefore beg of you, that no impertinence of mine (for truely that trifle is no other) may engage you to the least inconvenience, & w^{ch} may prejudice your health. You have already greatly oblig'd me by the hints you are pleas'd to send me, & by the notice y^u are pleas'd to take of that poore essay of mine on Lucretius, so long since escaping me. You may be sure I was very young, & therefore very rash, or ambitious, when I adventur'd upon that knotty piece. 'Tis very true, that when I committed it to a friend of mine (and one whom I am assur'd you intimately know) to inspect the printing of it, in my total absence from London, I fully resolv'd never to tamper more with that author; but when I saw it come forth so miserably deform'd, & (I may say) maliciously printed & mistaken, both in the Latine copy (which was a most correct and accurate one of Stephens's) & my version so inhumanly deprav'd, shame & indignation together

¹ See Casaubon's Letter to Evelyn, under the date Jan. 24, 1669-70, in p. 374.

incited me to resolve upon another edition; & I knew not how (to charme my anxious thoughts during those sad & calamitous times) to go thro' the five remaining bookes: but, when I had don, I repented of my folly, & that I had not taken the caution you since have given us in your excellent *Enthusiasme*, & which I might have foreseene. But, to commute for this, it still lies in the dust of my study, where 'tis like to be for ever buried.

Sir, I returne you a thousand thanks for the favour & honour you have don me, & which I should have sooner acknowledg'd, had I not ben from home when your letter came to my house: I shall now beg of God to restore y^r health, not for the satisfaction of my impertinent enquiries, but for the universal republiq of learning, & the benefit which all good men derive from the fruits of y^r worthy labour, who am,

S^r, y^r &c.

Sayes-Court, 15 July 1674.

To the Countess of Ossorie, &c.

Madame,

I cannot account my self to haue worthily discharg'd my duty to the memorie of my noble Lord, without deeply condoling the losse y^r La^p has sustain'd in the death of that illustrious person: never did a greate man go off this earthly stage with more regret & universal sorrow, never had Prince a more loyal subject, never nation a more publiq losse; & how greate my owne were in particular, the vn-interrupted obligations of above thirty yeares (joyn'd with a most condescending & peculiar friendship) may serve to declare, that nothing could haue happen'd to me more calamitous. But all this dos but

accumulate to y^r La^p's affliction, which were indeede deplorable, had you not, besides the greate & heroic actions of his life, the glorious name he has left behind, the hopefull branches that remaine to imitate his virtues, the consolation, above all, of his being safe, where he has receiv'd a crown brighter than any earthly Prince. It was my duty (as well as honor) to be with him night & day till I clos'd his eyes, & to joyne in those holy offices which were so devoutly perform'd by the Bishop of St. Asaph to the last article, & during all his Lord^p's sickness; which was pass'd thro' with such Christian patience & resignation, as that alone ought to giue y^r La^p exceeding comfort; I am sure it dos to me, & y^r La^p is to blesse Almighty God for it, who after so many honourable hazards in this wicked world, would haue him to a better, & that he is departed hence as a greate man & a true Christian should do, tho' for the present to our infinite losse. And now, Madame, I should beg pardon for entertaining you so long on this mournfull occasion, did I not assure myselfe that the testimony I giue y^r La^p of the religious & pious circumstances of his sickness, would afford you some consolation, as well as to shew how sincerely devoted I was to his L^ps service, how much obliged for his constant & generous friendship to me, & how much I am,

Madame, y^r, &c.

White Hall, 5 June 1680.

To Mr. Pepys, &c. [after the Shipwreck in which the Duke of York escaped so narrowly, returning out of Scotland.]

Sir,

I have ben both very sorry, & very much concern'd for you, since your Northern voyage, as

knowing nothing of it 'till you were embark'd (tho' I saw you so few daies before) and that the dismal and astonishing accident was ouer, which gaue me apprehensions & a mixture of passions not realy to be express'd 'til I was assur'd of your safety, and I gaue God thanks for it with as much sincerity as any friend you haue aliue. 'Tis sadly true there were a greate many poore creatures lost, & some gallant persons with them; but there are others worth hundreds saved, and Mr. Pepys was to me the second of those some, and if I could say more to expresse my joy for it, you should haue it vnder the hand & from the heart of,

S^r, y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 5 June 1681.

To Dr. Morley, Bp. of Winchester.

1 June, 1681.

* * * * Father Maimbourg has had the impudence to publish at the end of his late *Histoire du Calvinisme*, a pretended letter of the late Dutchesse of York,¹ intimating the motives of her deserting the Church of England; amongst other things to attribute it to the indifference, to call it no worse, of those two Bishops, upon whose advice she wholly depended as to the direction of her conscience, and points of controversie. 'Tis the universal discourse that y^r L^p is one of those Bishops she mentions, if at least the letter be not supposititious, knowing you to have ben the most domestic in the family, and one whom her Highnesse resorted to in all her doubts and spiritual concernes, not only during her former circumstances, but all the time of her great-

¹ This letter is printed in a small collection of Letters of Eminent Persons, in 2 vols. 12mo.

nesse to the very last. It is therefore humbly and earnestly desired (as well as indeede expected) amongst all that are concerned for our Religion and the great and worthy character which y^r L^p beares, that your L^p would do right to it, and publish to all the world how far you are concerned in this pretended charge, and to vindicate your selfe and our Church from what this bold man would make the world believe to the prejudice of both. I know your L^p will be curious to reade the passage your selfe, and do what becomes you upon this¹ signal occasion, God having placed you in a station where you have no greate ones frownes to feare or flatter, and given you a zeale for the truth and for his glory. With this assurance I humbly beg your L^ps blessing.

A note added :—" This letter was soon followed with the Bishop's full vindication published in print."¹

To Mr. William London, at Barbados.

S^r,

I find my selfe so exceedingly oblig'd for the greate civilitie of y^r letter (abating onely for the encomiums you are pleas'd to bestow upon me, & which are in no sort my due), that having nothing to returne you but my thanks and acknowledgements, I was not to delay that small retribution, for so many usefull & excellent notices, as both your letter & the papers inclos'd haue com'unicated me. I haue indeede ben formerly more curious in y^e culture of trees & plants, & blotted a

¹ Dr. Morley published an "Answer to a Letter written by a Romish Priest: together with the Letters themselves:" likewise a "Letter to Ann Duchess of York, a few months before her death."

greate deale of paper w^h my crude observations (& some of them I have had the vanitie to publish), but they do in no degree amount to y^e accuratenesse of your designe, which I cannot but applaude, & wish you all the successe so excellent an undertaking deserves. I do not know that euer I saw a more pertinent & exact enumeration of particulars, & if it please God you liue to accomplish what you have drawn the scheme of, I shall not doubt to pronounce it the most absolute & perfect historie that we haue any where extant of either oure owne, or other plantations. So that I cannot but highly encourage & augure you all the prosperity imaginable: and I shall not faile, in order to it, to impart y^r papers to the Royall Society, who I am very confident will be ready to do you any service; although I do not see that your designe is any where defective. And I perswade my selfe that you will be curious to adorne y^r work with true & handsome draughts of the animals, plants, & other things that you describe in y^e natural part. This I am bold to mention, because most of those authors (especialy English) who haue giuen us their relations, fill them with such lame & imperfect draughts & pictures, as are rather a disgrace than ornament to their books, they hauing no talent that way themselues, and taking no course to procure such as can designe; & if now & then you sprinkle here and there a prospect of the countries by y^e true and naturall landskipe, it would be of infinite satisfaction, & imprint an idea of those places you passe thro', which are so strange to vs and so desirable. Gaspar Barlæus (in his elegant Historie of Brasile) has giuen an incomparable instance of this: in which work the landskips of diuers parts of that country are accurately exhibited and grauen in copper, besides the choro-graphicall mapps, & other illustrations: but, S^r, I beg your pardon for mentioning a thing, which I am sure

you haue well thought of, & will provide for. In your account of plants, trees, fruits, &c. there are abundance to which we are here utter strangers, & therefore cannot but be desirable to the curious. I am told there is newly planted in Barbados an orange of a most prodigious size ; & such an improvement of the China as by far exceeds these we haue from Portugal, which are of late yeares much degenerated. As for flowers, I think I have heard that y^e *narcissus tuberosus* grow wild, & in plenty with you. I haue not the impudence to beg for my selfe any of those rarities you mention, but wish with all my heart I had any thing of my owne worthy y^r acceptance. I had at the beginning of last spring some forraine, & exotic seedes which I imparted to my friends, & some I sow'd & set, but with very little successe ; & as rightly you complaine there is no trust in our mercenarie seedes men of London for any thing. In the meane time concerning nutmegs, cinnamon, cloues, & those other aromatics you so reasonably covet, I feare it will be a very difficult province to obtaine such of them from the East Indies, they being mostly in possession of the Hollanders, who are (you know) a jealous people, &, as I have ben informed, make it capital to transport so much as a single nutmeg (I meane such a one as being set would produce a tree) out of their countrie : the late S^r John Cox, who had often ben at Nova Batavia, told me he could not procure one handfull but such as were effoete and depriv'd of their sprouting principle, upon any tearmes : much lesse could he obtain a plant : & yet I haue ben told by a confident broaker about the Custome-house (whose name occurs not) & who has himselfe ben in the Indies more than once (pretending to curiosities), that he brought away 2 or 3 plants of the true nutmeg tree belonging to a certaine Dutch merchant ; I suppose for the learned D^r Munting of that countrie,

who has brought vp both nutmegs and cinnamon plants in his garden in Holland, but to what improvement I cannot tell. It were not to be despair'd but that some subtil & industrious person (who made it his buisnesse) might ouercome this difficultie among some of their plantations, & why not? as well as that a countrie man of ours, who some yeares since brought home the first heads of saffron out of Greece (whence it was death to transport it) in the hollow head or top of his pilgrime staff, if what our Hollingshed writes be true: some such contrivance or accident will doubtlesse at last enrich our western & propitious climate with those precious deficientes; as it has don suggar, ginger, indigo, & other beneficial spices & drougs: & I know not whether the Jamaica peper be not already comparable to many of those we haue enumerated. I am sure it gratifies the tast & smell with most agreeable qualities, and little inferior to the oriental cinnamon. There is a walnut in Virginia whose nuts prosper very well with us, but we want store of them. It is in the meane time deplorable that the Bermudas cedar, of all others the most excellent & odoriferous, is (as I am told) almost worne out for want of propagation: if it will thrive in other countries 'tis pittie but it should be vniversally cultivated. But, S^r, I tire you. The Hortus Malabaricus¹ presents us with the most stupendious & vnheard-of plants in that elaborate work; the cutts being in copper are certainly (of any publish'd) the most accurately don, nor are their shapes & descriptions lesse surprizing. S^r, the Royal Society have lately put their Repositorie into an excellent method, & it euery day encreases, thro' the fauour & benevolence of sundry benefactors, whose names are gratefully recorded. If any thing incurr to you of curious (as certainly there daily do, innumerable,) you will greatly oblige that assembly of vir-

¹ Published at Amsterdam in twelve volumes folio.

tuosi in communicating any productions of the places you trauell thro' vpon the occasion of the returne of vessells from those parts. The particulars they collect are animals and insects of all sorts, their skinnes and sceletons, fruits, stones, shells, swords, gunns, minerals, & whateuer nature produces in her vast & comprehensive bosome. S^r, your letter came to me from Mr. Harrwell, the 23^d of Sept. & by the same hand & fauour I returne you the hearty thanks & acknowledgments of,

S^r, y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 27 Sept. 1681.

*To Sam. Pepys, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty.*¹

Sayes-Court, Dec^r 6, 1681.

Sir,

In compliance with y^r co'mands I have already transmitted to you the two large sea-charts, & now I send you the sheetes I have long since blotted with y^e Dutch Warr, for which I should now make another apologie (besides its preface) were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford, who could not endure I should lenifie my style, when a war with Holland was the subject; nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, tho' in justice to truth as evident as the day, I neither would, nor honestly could, conceale (what all the world might see) how subdously they dealt & made us their propertie all along. The interception of De Lyonne's letters to his master, p. 266, is sufficient to make this good: and

¹ The original letter, which varies from this copy, is in the possession of Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Esq. of Westbourn-green, Paddington, who kindly contributed it, with several other letters by Evelyn, which are printed in Pepys's *Memoirs and Correspondence*, recently published by Lord Braybrooke.

I am plainely astonished it should not long since have opened our statesmens eyes : unlesse it be, that we designe to truckle under France, and seeke industriously the ruine of our country. You will, Sir, pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot think of it without perfect indignation. As to the compiler's part, 'tis not easy to imagine the infinite fardles of papers, treaties, declarations, relations, journals, original letters, & other volumes of print and writings, &c. which I was obliged to reade & peruse (furnish'd, and indeede imposed on me, from the Secretaries of State and others) for this small attempt, and that which was to follow ; I am onely sorry that I was so hasty to returne some pieces to my Lord Treasurer, which I might honestly have kept, and with better conscience than his carrying them away into Devonshire, *unde nulli retrorsum*.

I had drawn a scheme of the intire work down to the Treaty of Breda, and provided y^e materials ; but the late Lord Treasurer Danby¹ cutting me short as to some just pretensions of another nature I had to his more particular kindenesse, I cared not to oblige an ungratefull age ; and perhaps the world is delivered by it from a fardle of impertinences.

Clifford (his predecessor) was, with all his other imperfections, a generous man, and, I very believe, of cleane hands ; I am sure I was oblig'd to him ; the other had ben sometimes so to me & mine, but that is all past. Clifford had greate failings, but was gratefull and firme to his friend.

As to y^r other queries, I have not any thing

¹ Thomas Viscount Dumblaine, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds. He married the Lady Bridget, second daughter of Montague Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and died at Easton in Northamptonshire, the seat of his grandson, the Lord Lempster, on his journey to his house in Yorkshire, July 26, 1712, and in the 81st year of his age.

relating to the Prize Office ; and for that Discourse wherein I did attempt to shew how far a Gentleman might become learned by the onely assistance of the modern languages (written at the request of Sir Sam^l Tuke for the Duke of Norfolk), to my grieve I feare I shall never recover it ; for, sending it to the person I nam'd sometime since, he tells me he cannot find it ; and so for ought I see it is lost. There is a List in it of Authors, and a method of reading them to advantage, besides something in y^e discourse which would not have displeased you ; nor was it without some purpose of one day publishing it, because 't was written with a virtuous designe of provoking our Court fopps, and for encouragement of illustrious persons who have leasure & inclinations to cultivate their minds beyond a farce, a horse, a whore, and a dog, which, with very little more, are the confines of the knowledge and discourse of most of our fine gentlemen and beaus. I will desire Sir James to make another search for it, when next I see him.

In the mean time the particulars w^{ch} here I send you are,

The battle of Lepanto : a description of the Armada in [15]88, I suppose authentiq.

A Paper written in French touching the severitie of their Marine Laws.

Trajan's Column with Alphonso Ciaconius's notes, referring to the bass-relieve by the figures. Such as concerne Ships and Gallies, &c. you will find by the figures 57. 243. 260. 153. 24. 236. 239. 152. 155. and especially 303. 235. where he speakes of copper or brass instead of iron-work ; and the best season for the felling of timber ; and there is, as to other notices, subject of a world of erudition beyond what Ciaconius has touched, which would deserve an ampler volume.

A Discourse concerning the Fishery, & Duty of the Flag.

A large volume of S^r R. Browne's Dispatches from 1641 to 1644, &c. during his publiq ministrie and character in the French Court. Besides which I have two folios more that continue it longer.

I also send you the Journal of Martin Frobisher and Captain Fenton.

That of Drake I cannot find as yet, so many papers and things there are to be removed and turned over in my confused study.

Item, a Map of an Harbour, whose name I find not to it.

Also an old Map of a Sea-fight.

Also a packet of original Letters belonging to the former of my L. of Leycesters, in number 14, which are all I have remaining.

With a Declaration of the old Prince of Orange, William of Nassau, who was assassinated at Delft.

The Earle of Leicester's Will.

Another packet of Letters & other matters, and Transactions of State relating to the late times, in number 88, and of which I have thousands more that you may command sight of, but these I think are most material.

A particular of wages due to the Deputy, Army, & other State Officers and affaires relating to Ireland, an^o 1587—1588.

A packet of 38 papers containing Instructions and matters of State to severall public Ministers abroad, &c.

Item, another packet of 33 originall Lett^{rs} to & from greate persons during the late Rebellion here.

A Scheme of the action of the Hollanders at Chatham, 1667, when they burnt our ships, and bloq'd up the Thames.¹

¹ This "Scheme" is a pen and ink sketch by Evelyn, pre-

Order of Council of State (then so called) for the apprehension of Charles Stewart, his present Majesty, so named by the regicides.

Lastly, a Relation of his Ma^{ty's} action & escape at Worcester, when he came out of Scotland with his army, being as far as S^r R. Browne wrote out of the then Queen Mother's lett^{rs} at Paris; that which he tooke from his Ma^{ties} owne dictating (when he, after that escape, came into France at Paris) was sent to Mons^r Renodaut, & was publish'd by him in the Weekly Extraordinaire A^o 1651, where you'll find it in French among the volumes of his Gazettes. I am sorry the original was not retriev'd from him.

Thus, Sir, you see how diligent I have ben, since I came home, to answer your queries, as I shall in all other your com'ands as far as is in the power of,

Sir, y^r, &c.

These papers,¹ mapps, lett^{rs}, books and particulars, when you have don with, be pleas'd to take your owne time in returning.

Sayes-Court, 5 Dec. 1681.

To the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Fell).

My Lord,

It cannot but be evident to your Reverend Lordship, to how greate danger & fatal consequences the *Histoire Critique*, not long since publish'd in French by Pere Simon, & now lately translated (tho' but ill translated) into English, exposes one onely the Protestant & whole Reformed Courches abroad, but

served with Pepys' Official Correspondence in the Bodleian Library. An accurate fac-simile copy was made, and published in the second volume of Pepys' Memoirs, 4to. 1825.

¹ *In the margin*—w^{ch} I afterwards never asked of him.

(what ought to be dearer to vs) the Church of England at home, which with them acknowledge the Holy Scriptures alone to be the canon & rule of faith ; but which this bold man not onely labours to vnsettle, but destroy. From the operation I find it already begins to haue amongst diuers whom I converse with, especialy the young men, & some not so young neither, I euen tremble to consider what fatal mischief this piece is like to create, whilst they do not look vpon the booke as coming from some daring wit, or young Lord Rochester revived, but as the work of a learned author, who has the reputation also of a sober and judicious person. And it must be acknowledged that it is a masterpiece in its kind ; that the man is well studied in the oriental tongues, & has carried on his project with a spirit and adresse not ordinarie amongst critics ; tho' after all is don, whether he be really a Papist, Socinian, or meerely a Theist, or something of all three, is not easy to discouer ; but this is evident—as for the Holy Scriptures, one may make what one will of them for him. He tells the world we can establish no doctrine or principles vpon them, and then, are not we of the Reform'd Religion in a blessed condition ! For the loue of God, let our Vniversities, my Lord, no longer remaine thus silent : it is the cause of God, & of our Church ! Let it not be said, your Chaires take no notice of a more pernicious plot than any that yet has alarm'd vs. Whilst euery body lets it alone, men think there's nothing to be said against it ; & it hugely prevails already, & you will be sensible of its progresse when 'tis too late to take off the reproch. I most humbly therefore implore y^r Rev. L^p to consider of it seriously ; that the pennis and the Chaires may openly & on all occasions assert & defend the com'on cause, & that Oxford may haue the honor of appearing the first in the field. For

from whom, my Lord, should we expect reliefe, if not from you the Fathers of the Church, & the Scholes of the Prophets? It is worthy the publiq concerne to ward the deadly blows which sap the rootes, & should by no meanes be abandon'd to hazard, or the feeble attempts of any single champion, who, if worsted, would but add to the triumph of our enemies, Papists & Atheists. My Lord, he who makes bold to transmitt this to y^r Lo^p, tho' he be no man of the Church, is yet a son of the Church, & greatly concern'd for her; & tho' he be not learned, he converses much with books, & men that are as well at Court as in towne & the country; & thinks it his duty to giue y^r L^p an account of what he heares and sees, & is expected & call'd for from you, who are the superintendents & watchmen that Christ has set ouer his Church, & appointed to take care of his flock. S^r John Marsham's booke¹ would likewise be consider'd farther than as yet it seemes to haue ben, & the obnoxious passages in it not put off to prefaces & accidental touches onely; whilst neither to that, nor yet to Spinoza, (made also vulgar) we haue had any thing publish'd of expresse, or equal force in a just volume, fitted either for domestic or forraigne readers. I know that the late Bishop of Chester,² Dr. Stillingfleet, Huetius, & some few others, haue said aboun-

¹ "Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, Hebraicus, et Græcus, cum Disquisitionibus Historicis et Criticis," fol. Lond. 1672. He travelled into France, Italy, and part of Germany; studied the Law, and was one of the Six Clerks in Chancery. He suffered as a partizan of King Charles the First, but on the Restoration was restored to his situation, and soon after created a Baronet. He was one of the greatest antiquaries and most learned writers of his time. Father Simon calls him the Great Marsham of England. He wrote the Preface to the second volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, besides the *Diatriba* above mentioned. Sir John was ancestor of the present Earl of Romney. ² Dr. Wilkins.

dantly to confute our modern Atheists; but as these start new & later notions, or rally & reinforce the scatter'd enemie, we should, I think, march as often out to meete & encounter them. For the men of this curious & nicer age do not consider what has ben said or written formerly, but expect something fresh, that may tempt & invite them to consider, that for all the bold appearances of the enemie, they are no stronger than heretofore, & can do vs no more hurt, vnlesse we abandon and betray ourselves and giue up the cause. 'Tis not (my Lord) sufficient to haue beaten down the heade of the 'hydra once, but as often as they rise to vse the club, tho' the same weapon be vsed, the same thing repeated; it refreshes the faint, & resolves the doubtful, & stirrs-up the sloth-full, & is what our adversaries continually do to keepe up & maintaine their owne party, when euer they receiue the least rebuke from vs:—*fas est et ab hoste doceri*. Nor, my Lord, whilst I am writing this, do I at all doubt of y^r L^{ps} greate wisdom, zeale, & religious care to obviate & prevent this and all other adversaries of our most holy faith, as built vpon the Sacred Scriptures of the Prophets & Apostles, Jesus Christ himselfe being the chiefe corner-stone. But if the excesse of my affection for the Vniuersitie (which I haue sometimes heard per-string'd, as not taking the alarme so concernedly vpon these occasions) haue a little too far transported me, I most humbly supplicate y^r L^{ps} pardon for my presumption, & for my zeale & good-wishes to the prosperity of our Sion, your L^{ps} blessing,

Who am, my R^d Lord,

Y^r, &c.

To Sam. Pepys, Esq. late Secretary of the Admiralty.

S^r,

In answer to your queries, I will most ingenuously declare my thoughts upon second meditation since I publish'd my Treatise of Commerce, & what I have ben taught, but was not there to speake in publiq without offence. I will therefore reply in the method you seem to hint; and then say what I have concerning our pretence to dominion on the seas. To the first:

Boxhornius has written an historie of the Ansiatic Townes; where you'l find in what condition & credit Holland was for traffiq & com'erce, & in the Danish Annales. It would be enquir'd when the English staple was remov'd into Brabant, being 100 years since, & now fixed at Dort. How far forth Charles the Fift pursued or minded his interest at sea? As to Henry the 4th of France, 'tis evident he was not negligent of his interest there, by his many projects for trade, & performances at Marseilles; all that Richelieu and his successors in that ministrie produc'd was projected by their Greate Henry, as is plaine out of Claude B. Morisot his preface. And now

To our title of *Dominion* & the Fishery (which has made such a noise in this part of the world) I confesse I did lately seeke to magnifie & assert it as becomes me *pro hic & nunc* (to speake with logicians), and as the circumstances you know then requir'd. But betweene friends (and under the rose as they say), to tell you realy my thoughts, when such like topics were us'd sometimes in Parliament, 'tis plaine they were passed over there upon important reasons. To begin with the very first. Supposing the old Britains did prohibite forainers to come into their

country, what inferrs that to any claime of dominion in the *Narrow*, but a jealosie rather over their proper coasts? Nor reade we that they euer practis'd it ouer the Gauls. The Chinezes we find forbad all to enter their countrie: are they therefore Lords of the Oriental seas? As for King Arthur (abating what is fabulous, *viz.* his legendarie dominion) the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, &c. stretch'd to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, & Iceland, infers either to much or nothing. Haue we therefore any right of clayme to those realmes at present? Why then to the seas? Againe, admitt the most, may not dominion be lost or extinguish'd? Was not his rather a momentarie conquest or excursion, rather than an establish'd dominion? Was it not lost to the Danes? Had they not all the characters of domination imaginable—Lords of our seas, Lords of our shores too, & the tribute of *Danegelt* from England & Ireland both? If euer there were a real dominion in the world, the Danes must be yielded to haue had it: and if their title cannot be extinguish'd by subsequent revolutions, I greatly question whether ours will euer be euinced. In short, the story of King Edgar is monstrously romantic, and the pretended deede I doubt will appeare but spurious. Truely, if forraine chronicles had ben as much stuff'd with the renowne of this prince as wth K. Arthur, I should giue more credit to it. In the mean time, what they report of Athelred is totaly against vs, since 'tis plaine he pay'd the *Danegelt* as a tribute to them, & settled it to y^e end. One may querie whether the Scots seas, & Scotland to boote, be not a fee to England; for with as much reason we might challenge it, if the producing rolls, records, & Acts of Parliament, & of Statutes to that purpose were of any importance; because we can shew more to the purpose than in the other case: but how would then

that nation take it, & what become of their laws about fishing? 'Tis declar'd in our laws that we are the Lords of the *Foure Seas*, & so adjudged in our courts, as to those born upon those seas; and yet the Parliament of Scotland can impose a tax on our fishermen, which is a shrewd argument against vs. Who euer read that the Kings of England prohibited any to fish on the coast of Scotland? Or charg'd them with vsurpation for taking toll and custome for the herring-fishery? The truth is, the licences (which I speak of in my book, from Scarbrough) were onely to fish on the Dogger-bank. Such English as were to fish in the Scottish seas about Orkney, & Shetland, Iceland, and Fero, &c. did take licenses to fish from the Kings of Norway at Bergen & North-barum; & this jurisdiction & sovereignty vndoubted of the Norwegian Kings is recognis'd by our own Parliament in a statute 8 Hen. 6. c. 2., and by innumerable treaties betwixt the two crownes, euen within a century of yeares; and if so, consider how feeble a proof is that famous roll *pro hominibus Hollandiæ*, & how it is to be limited in itselfe (by the historie & occasion that caused it) to the Narrow or Chanell onely. 'Tis also to be considered that the Danes protested at Breda, that the cession of the Scots fisherie about Orkney & Shetland was neuer made to our King James vpon his marriage of Q. Ann (as our tradition is), nor any time before to any Scottish king; and supposing that there were any such authentiq deede, it were better to fix y^e fisherie (we contend about) euen in the Dutch, then either permit it to be regulated by the decrees of a Scotch Parliament, or transferr it to that nation. Now as to y^e greate trade, & multitude of English vessels, by the historie of y^e Haunse Townes, their privileges & power in England, one shall find, that for y^e bulk our navies consisted most of hired ships of the Vene-

tians, Genoezes, & Ansiatics, till Queene Elizabeth, tho' her father Henry the 8. had a flourishing fleete. The right of passes, and petitions thereupon, were formed vpon another part of the *Jus Gentium*, then our pretended dominion of the seas; which (to speake ingenuously) I could neuer find recognis'd expressly in any treaty wth forrainers. As to returne to the fishery, that of the Dutch fishing without licence, the *intercursus magnus* (so boasted) was a perpetual treaty, and made as well with all the people as the princes of Burgundy, & so as to be obligatorie, tho' they rejected their gouernors, as we see most of them did, & as perhaps they might according to the *lætus introitus*. And that the Dutch are still, & by Q. Eliz. were so declar'd to be, a *pars contrahens*, after their revolt and abjuration of Spaine, dos as much invalidate that proceeding of K. James, & Charles the First, who both sign'd that *intercursus*, & were in truth included thereby tho' they had not sign'd it.

But besides all this, the nature of prescription would be enquir'd into as well when it makes against vs, as for vs; & therefore it should be demanded whether Queen Elizabeth did not first assert the *mare liberum* in opposition to y^e Danes, and whether his present Ma^{tie} has not don it at Jamaica against the Spaniard; pray consider the seale of that Admiralty. To speake plaine truth; when I writ that Treatise, rather as a *philological* exercise, & to gratifie the present circumstances, I could not clearly satisfie myselfe in sundry of those particulars, nor find realy that euer the Dutch did pay toll or tooke license to fish in Scotland after the contest, from any solid proofes. Indeede (as there I relate) they surpriz'd Brown who came to exact it, & detain'd him in Holland seuerall months; but I think they neuer payd peny for it, tho' the papers I haue pervs'd speake of an *assize herring*; nor did I find that

any rent (whereoff in my 108 page I calculate the arreres) for permission to fish, was euer fixed by both parties; & so cannot properly be called a settl'd rent. This would therefore be exquisitely enquir'd into, and perhaps, both for these & many other particulars, a thro' search in his Ma^{tie's} Paper Office may afford clearer light, if there haue any due care been taken to collect & digest such important matters. As for the yeares 1635 and 1637, you cannot but espie an intreague in y^e equipping those formidable fleets; & that they were more to awe the French than terrifie Holland (see how the times & interests change! but no more of that, 'tis now a tender point) I fancy were no difficult matter to prove, and that any licenses were taken in those yeares, I could neuer be assur'd of: that of 1636 being but a single act of force on some particular men, the States neuer owning them in it; and you know the Admirall Dorp was casheer'd for not quarrelling it with our Northumberland, & our conduct & licenses flatly rejected in 1637, when Capt. Field came. Lastly,

When K. James fixed his chamber, did he not either renounce y^e English sovereignty of the seas, or violate therein his league with Spaine? (as that nation vrged, pleading that the British seas were *territorium domini regis*); but he did not the latter, wherefore I am not single in this declaration. In a word, the intire argument of this fish'ry is too controvertable to be too peremptory decided by the penn, & vpon many other accounts (of which the plenty & wantoness of our full fed vnfrugal people, which deterrs them from hard labour, is not the least) a project wholly vselesse as circumstances be, and therefore might with much more benefit, ease, & facility, be supplied by increasing our fishery at New-found-land. Finally,

As to the com'erce in generall of this nation : from all that I could observe during my short being of that noble and honourable Council, & informing myselfe as I was able by books & discourses of experienc'd persons ; I say, after all this, I considered it a very vaine thing to make any (the most probable, certaine, or necessarie) proposal about trade, &c. Not that it might not be infinitely improv'd, if princes & people did unanimously, & with a true publiq spirit, & as our naturall advantages prompt us, apply themselves honestly and industriously about it ; but for that, as things now are & have hitherto ben manag'd since the renown'd Queene Elizabeth (for that *encomium* I must give her), the whole advantage this nation receives thereby is evidently carried on more by antient methods & the sedulitie of private men, than by any publiq encouragement ; and as to the present, it certainly languishes vnder insupportable difficulties. And thus, Sir, I choose to convey you my second more digested thoughts, of a point which in your excellent designe and work cannot escape the ample handling as one of the most considerable, when you come to speake of the importance of our shipping & trade, or pretence of dominion, &c. And I do it, you see, with all *selfe denyall* imaginable (& not without some reproach) after what I have publish'd to the contrary, by which you may conclude how suspicious wise men should be of other histories and historians too, how confident & specious soever, vnlesse it were almost demonstration, that the authors had no interest of their own to serve, & were not influenc'd by their superiors, or the publiq cry. Let this ingenuous confession com'ute for my faults in that Treatise, and be put amongst the retractations of,

S^r, your, &c.

To *Samuell Pepys, Esq^r. Secretary of y^e Admiralty.*

S^r,

I were very unworthy of y^r late & former favours should I not render you some assurances, that I am often meditating on them; & that I shall ever (according to my small force & capacitie) obey your com'ands. Without more ceremonie then—I am in the first place to give you an account of Colours. But you will be better pleas'd to receive it from the learned Gisbertus Cuperus's *Apotheosis, vel consecratio Homeri*,¹ in his curious conjectures upon an antique sculpture; where, speaking of the rhapsodists that were vs'd to sing the ballads of Vlysses' Errors & Maritime Voyages, they were wont to be clad in blew; when his Iliads & fighting Poems, in red; & were so superstitious, as allways to cover those bookes or rolls in parchment of those two colours. He pretends that one Oenomanus first invented distinctions of colours in the *Ludi Circenses*, where greene was y^e ensigne of combatants by land, & blew at sea: so as when those who were clad in greene gain'd the prize, they look'd on it as presage of a fruitfull harvest; if the blew coates prevail'd, successful expeditions and exploits at sea: the first, it seemes, concern'd the husbandman, the other the mariner. He farther observes, that when there was any com'otion or rebellion in the parts of Italy or Gaule, the General of Horse carried a blew cornet, for as much as that generous creature was produc'd by Neptune's trident, & first manag'd by that sea god; & that whoever signaliz'd his courage on that element, was honor'd wth a flag of the same colour; which Suetonius gives a remarkable instance of, in the Life of Octavius Augustus: *M. Agrippam in*

¹ Printed at Amsterdam in 1683, 4to.

Siciliâ, post navalem victoriam, cœruleo vexillo donavit, after the naval victory obtain'd against young Pompey. It were ostentation to cite more authors Statius, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch in Vit. Themist, &c. Enough to give you an impatient desire of that excellent entertainment Cuperus will afford you, not on this subject onely, but in a world of other choice & curious erudition.

S^r, I do not remember you charg'd me with any other particular of this sort: but as I am both dispos'd & esteeme mysele very happy in serving you, thô but as a pioneer to dig materials for a more skillfull hand to square & polish & set in work, so if in my desultory course of reading, & among the rubbish, I lite on any thing which is worthy your notice, & may contribute to it, reckon that you have in me a ready & faithfull servant: acquir'd by many obligations, but (I assure you) by none more than that singular love of virtue, & things worthy an excellent person, which I discover & highly honour in you.

In the notes of Isaac Vossius upon Catullus, *sive utrumque Jupiter simul secundus incidisset in pedem*, &c. he has many learned observations about Navigation, particularly that of sailing to several parts opposite to one another by the same wind, *ijsdem Ventis in contrarium navigatur prolati pedibus*, as Pliny expresses it; & it was (you may remember) on this hint that I inform'd you Vossius had by him a treatise *Περὶ Ταχυπλοία*. I enquir'd of him (when last I was at Windsore) whether he would publish it; to which he gave me but an uncertaine answer. In the meane time you'l not be displeas'd at what he tells us of a certaine harmonie produc'd by the snapping of carters' whips, vs'd of old at the feasts of Bacchus & Cybele; & that the Tartars have to this day no other trumpets, & are so adroit, as at once to

make the whip give three distinct clapps, & that so loude as to be heard very far off; and then speakes of a coachman at Maestricht, who plays severall tunes with his lash. To a lover of musiq & harmonie I could not omit this scrap, tho I know you'l laugh at me for it, & pay me with the tongues and gridiron. But ere I leave Dr. Vossius, I dare say you have perus'd what he writes in his late Opusculum, touching the reformation of Latitudes & Eclipses; and his asserting the Mediterranean & other places to be much larger than our Geographers report. He has something also of the North passage to the Indies, of the construction of gallies, the Pico Teneriffe, &c.; of all which you best are able to judge, & doubtlesse have form'd y^r remarques thereon. Whilst I was running on, comes Mr. Dum'er to give me a visite; and I am so charm'd with his ingenuity, that I looke vpon it as a new obligation to you; & if you find I cultivate it for my owne sake a little, you will let him understand (by all that I am to speake to you of him vpon this short taste) how much I wish him the improvements of y^r favours, who am for so many myselfe,

S^r, y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 23 Sep^r 1685.

From Mr. Samuel Pepys.

Thursday night, 2 Oct. 1685.

S^r,

Very sorry I am that I was not in y^e way to enjoy you to-day, being gone (the only time I have beene able to doe it this summer) to make a visit to good Mrs. Ewer at Clapham. But I have 2 reasons to desire you will give mee yo^r company to-morrow noone, first because wee will bee alone, & next I

have something to shew you, that I may not have another time,

Yo^r most obe^t serv^t,
S. PEPYS.

To this letter Mr. Evelyn has subjoined the following curious note :

“That which was shew’d mee were *two papers* ¹

¹ The following is extracted from the Life of King James II. published by the Rev. J. S. Clarke :

“Some few days after the late King’s death, his Majesty looking into the papers he had left behind him, found two relateing to Controversie, one in the strong box, the other in the closet, both writ in his own hand: they were short but sollid, and shewed that tho’ his conversion was not perfected til a few houres before his death, his conviction was of a longer date. The King thought fit to shew them one day to the Archbishop of Canterburie in his closet, no body being by, who seem’d much surpris’d at the sight of them, and pawsed almost half a quarter of an houre before he said any thing ; at last tould the King, he did not think his late Majesty had understood controversie so well, but that he thought they might be answer’d : ‘ If so,’ sayd the King, ‘ I pray let it be done gentleman-like and sollidly, and then it may have the effect you so much desire of bringing me back to your Church ;’ to which the Archbishop reply’d, ‘ It would perhaps be counted a disrespect in him to contradict the late King ;’ but his Majesty reassured him in that point, by telling him the change it might produce in himself (if answer’d efectually) was of that consequence as to outbalance any other consideration ; and therefore desired he might see a reply either from him or any other of his perswasion : but tho’ he, my Lord Dartemouth and others, were several times remind’d of this matter, and earnestly press’d to it, never any formal reply was produced during his Majesty’s reign in England. It is true there was something of an answer published by an unknown hand, but the drift of it was rather to proue that the papers were not the late King’s (which was a libel in reality upon the present) than any reply to the arguments of it, and it is probable the Archbishop dispair’d of answering it so efectually as to bring back his Majesty to their Communion, whereas the publishing a reply would have own’d and published the papers too : and he had reason to apprehend, that the authority and arguments of their dying Prince would influence more persons to that religion, than his answer would perswade to relinquish it.” Vol. ii. p. 8. See also the Diary, vol. iii. pp. 182, 183.

attested by his present Ma^{ties} hand to be a true copie of the originals which some day before he had shewed Mr. Pepys privately :—That his late brother, Charles y^e Second, was of long time since a Roman Catholique. The papers contained severall *points* of religion, labouring to cast heresy, schism, &c. on the Church of England, but on my judgement without any force or reason, & a thousand times confuted.”

To the Countesse of Sunderland (Lady Anne Spencer).

Madame,

I am not un-mindfull of the late com'and you lay'd vpon me, to give you a catalogue of such books as I believ'd might be fit to entertaine your more devout & serious hours: and I looke vpon it as a peculiar grace & fauour of God to y^r La^p, that, amidst so many temptations, and grandeur of Courts, the attendants, visites, diversions (& other circumstances of the palace, and the way you are ingag'd in) you are resolu'd that nothing of all this shall interrupt your duty to God, & the Religion you professe, when euer it comes in competition with the things of this world, how splendid soever they may appeare for a little & (God knows) uncertaine time: Madame, 'tis the best, & most gratefull returne you can make to Heaven for all the blessings you enjoy, amongst which there is none you are more happy in, then in the vertue, early & solid piety of my Lady Anne, and progresse of y^r little son. Madame, the foundation you haue layd in those two blessings, will not onely build, but establish y^r illustrious family, beyond all the provisions you can make of gallant and greate in estimation of the world; and will find the comfort of it, when all this noise &

hurry shall vanish as a dreame, & leaue nothing to support vs in time of neede. I am perswaded you often make these reflections, from your owne greate judgment and experiences of the vicissitudes of things present, & prospect of future, which is onely worth our solicitude.

I am, &c.

Says-Court, 12 Sep. 1686.

To my Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Dublin Castle.
[Henry Earl of Clarendon.]

My Lord,

I had ere this giuen y^r Exc^y my most humble thanks for yours of the 7th past, but that I was expecting the event of some¹ extraordinary things then in suspence; and when I haue sayd this, I neede not tell y^r L^p what I am assur'd you have receiu'd from better hands, nor make any farther reflections on it, than to acquaint y^r Ex^y, that I know of no new com'issions, which y^r L^p desires to vnderstand y^e meaning of, & that make (it seemes) no lesse noise with you than they do here. The character y^r Ex^y giues of the huffing greate man² is just: how the noyse he makes will operate I know little of; what it dos with you (and would euery where do else) is sufficiently evident: but God is above all, and your L^{ps} prudence, courage, & steady loyaltie, will, if it not surmount all malevolence, purchase you the estimation of all good subjects, & I doubt not, but of his Ma^{tie} also. I am plainly amaz'd at what y^r Ex^y tells me of Ireland, which country we haue seene giuen twice conquer'd into

¹ The Co'miss. of Ecclesiastical Affaires which suspended the Bp. of Lond. &c. and gaue greate offence to all the nation. J. E.

² Lord Tyrconnel.

his Ma^{ties} father's & brother's (our late Souraines) hands, at no small expense of blood & treasure ; & therefore question not but his present Ma^{tie} dos both see & well consider the infinite importance of cherishing its improvements and tranquillitie.

My Ld. Teviot, I think, has quite abandon'd vs ; 'tis neere 4 moneths since we haue receiu'd any assistance from him at the Seale ; so as I haue not ben able to make any excursion as yet this sum'er, & when I shall now make my flight to Swallowfield,¹ I am uncertaine. I haue agen ben to enquire out my Lord Cornbery : but his Lo^p is still so employ'd twixt the Court & his military charge, that I cannot expect the happinesse I promis'd my selfe of accompanying him hither, and to go without him would be a melancholy thing. The ladys are still at Tunbridge, tempted by the continuance of this Paradisian season ; whilst we are here mightily in the dark, & curious (if lawfull) to vnderstand, whether a certaine new Countesse came lately ouer hither with his Ma^{ties} knowledge & permission. I tell the inquisitiue, I know nothing of it, but that I am sure your Ex^y dos nothing saue what becomes you, & with good advise. Now that Buda is taken, all our eyes are on Hambrow & Denmark :—I pray God giue peace to Christendome, and continue it in little England, with all prosperitie & blessing on y^r Ex^y & illustrious family : these are the assiduous prayers of, my L^d,
Y^r Ex^y, &c.

Says-Court, Sep. 1686.

¹ A seat belonging to Lord Clarendon, about six miles South-east of Reading, in Berkshire, which he possessed by marrying his second wife, Flower, widow of Sir William Backhouse, Bart.

To my Son, &c.

Son,

I just now receiv'd the narrative of the Princes march, and the political remarks you have made upon the occurrences where you have ben. My Lord Clarendon would gladly have conferred with you on several points seasonable at that juncture; but all have now it seemes submitted, and the bells and the bonfires proclaime as much joy & satisfaction as those are capable of, who have beheld so many changes & revolutions, without being able to divine how all this will conclude at last, & remembering that precept of the wisest of kings, (Proverbs, ch. xxiv. v. 21) which I neede not repeate to you. It will be no newes (I perceive) to you, to acquaint you wth his Majesty's late recesse, nor of his being stop't at Feversham, &c. But of his coming back to White-hall, and what has since intervened, you may not yet have heard. On Friday last there went thither my Lord Midleton, Earle of Alesbury, L^d Feversham, S^r Step: Fox, and M^r Grahame, where the rabble had detain'd the King (the vessel wherein he was embark'd with S^r Ed. Hales, & Ralph Sheldon, w^{ch} were all his attendance, coming in for want of balast), till the newes of it being brought to the L^{ds} of the Council, those Lords & Gent: I named were sent to perswade his Ma^{ty} to returne, or if not prevailing, to conduct and waite upon him wth two troopes of horse, to what other port or place he should please to go. The King, at last induced to come back to London, arrived at White-Hall on Sondag evening, went to masse at his Chapel on Monday, three priests officiating; the usual number of Roman Catholics, & a world more, filling the bed-chamber and all the roomes with extraordinary acclamation. In this manner his Ma^{ty} went thence to

dinner (a Jesuite saying grace,) and all things seemed to passe in such order, as the eclipse the Court suffered, by his Ma^{ty}s four dayes absence, was hardly discernable, all the clouds (as we thought) were vanishing, and a bright day againe appearing. So soone as he was retired, he sent my L^d Feversham with a letter under his owne hand to invite the P: of Orange to St: James's: the message was accepted, but the *messenger* arested & made prisoner at Windsor; upon which politicians make reflexions. But 'tis pretended that a *general* of an enemy ought not by the law of armes to come into the quarters of his antagonist without a trumpet & a passeport: others say, that his Hig^h was much displeased at the Earle's disbanding his Ma^{ty}s forces under his co'mand, without disarming them, and un-payd, as thereby leaving them in danger of seeking some desperate resolution, of disturbing the measures he had taken; and there are who believe upon some other account, which time will discover. Tuesday morning came the Marq: of Halifax (who with the L^d Godolphin had ben sent commissioner to the Prince) from Windsor, to let his Ma^{ty} know the Prince would be the next day at St. James's; but withall (foreseeing it might be dangerous to have his army quarter'd about the towne, so necessary to his safety, whilst the King's guards were so neere), he desires his Ma^{ty} that he would make choice of Hampton Court, or some other place about that distance, to repaire to, for the avoiding jealousies & inconveniences which might happen betweene the guards of different interests. You will easily believe this was not very kindly taken, after so generous an invitation; & that it was the more surprizing for its coming to him at one o'clock in the morning, when he was weary & fast asleepe. The King upon this rises, & goes immediately to Council, where severall things being

propos'd (but what I undertake not to say) & altogether rejected: and whilst by this time White-Hall and all its environs were crowded with Dutch soldiers, his Ma^{tie} put himself into his barge, accompanied wth my Lord Ailesbery (now in waiting), the L^{ds} Dumbarton, Arran, & one or two more, follow'd wth three other barges & small boates, fill'd with a Dutch guard, & a troop of horse by land, steering their course towards Rochester againe, from whence he so lately had return'd. Thus have you the second recesse, or something more *dismaly boading*; which, whilst I my selfe, with S^r Chas: Cotterell & S^r Step: Fox, beheld from one of the windows of the new buildings—*vix tempero à lachrymis*.—I should have told you that the Prince being yesterday at Syon, sent S^r Rob: Howard & Hen: Powle with a letter to the Citty, acquainting them with his approach, with other complements of course. This was read before the L^d Mayor & Com: Council, and was answer'd with all submission & respect, & with an invitation that his Hig^{sse} would honour their Citty by vouchsafing to lodge in it, rather than at St: James's. On this there stood up an Alderman, & moved that an Adresse might first be made to congratulate his Mat^{ty}s gracious returne to White-Hall. But the proposal was not approv'd of, one of them saying, *they had given a good pail of milke, & that this were to kick it downe againe*.

Thus, Son, I have given you as minute an account of the *Proteus* here as I am able for the present. The hero is now at St. James's, where I have seene him, and severall of my old acquaintance. I dined at the E: of Clarendons, whom I did not find altogether so well satisfied as I expected, considering that his son my L^d Cornebery tooke so considerable a stroke in his turne. I wish he do not *πρὸς κέντρα λακτιζειν*.—By what I collect, the ambitious & the

covetous will be canvassing for places of honour, & rich employment ; and that my Lord will withstand the mercat, and neglect, if not slight his applications, upon confidence of his neere relation, & the merites of my L^d his son, if not upon other principles. If none of this happen, and that successe do not quite alter the principles of men in power, we are to suspect *Astrea* upon earth againe : But as I have often told you, I looke for no mighty improvement of mankind in this declining age & catalysis. A Parliament (legaly cal'd) of brave & worthy patriots, not influenc'd by faction, nor terrified by power, or corrupted by selfe interest, would produce a kind of new creation amongst us. But it will grow old, and dissolve to chaos againe, unlesse the same stupendious Providence (which has put this opportunitie into mens hands to make us happy) dispose them to do just & righteous things, and to use their empire with moderation, justice, piety, & for the publiq good. Upon the whole matter, those who seeke employment, before the grandees are serv'd, may suspend their solicitation, the Queene having ('tis sayd) carried away the Greate Seale : most of the writs being burnt by his Ma^{ty}, it will cost time, & excogitation of expedients how legaly to supply them, if his Ma^{ty} should designe to travell againe, or the doore (which I feare most likely) be shut after him. These, and sundry other difficulties, will render things both uneasy and uncertaine. Onely I think Popery to be universally declining, and you know I am one of those who despise not prophesying ; nor, whilst I behold what is daily wrought in the world, believe miracles to be ceas'd.

S^r Ed: Hales & Obadiah (his old tutor) are both in gaole at Maidstone. C. Justice Herbert, Rob: Brent, & Peters above all, are not yet heard of. Poore Roger (for want of better observation) is

carried to New-gate, & every houre is pregnant of wonders.

Anno Mirabil. Lond. 18 Dec. 1688.

To y^e Countesse of Sunderland.

Mad^{me},

The buisy and wond'rous age I have lived in, the not altogether confinement of my selfe to morose conversations in the world, the tincture I early receiv'd from generous and worthy parents, and the education they gave me, disposing (at least inciting) me to the love of letters, and a greate regard to Religion, as the end and scope of all accomplishments, wisely and prudently consider'd (not that I have pursued this glorious and onely happy course, to my sorrow and reproach be it confess'd, but what I ought to have don,) dos now and has long since taken up my thoughts about that souvraine good which all the thinking part of mankind has in all ages and times ben searching after, to acquiesce and rest in; and in pursuance of this greate concerne, I have preferr'd the recesse of neere thirty yeares, during which, by meane compliances, and in a vicious age, one might probably have ariv'd to something which they call (tho' not very properly) a *figure*, (but I, an empty *cyfer*) in the world, to all other advantages whatsoever; and upon the foote and sum of all (for I do often cast it up), I have found nothing solid, nothing stable, and worth all this hurry, disquiet, & expense of time; but the pursuite of moderate things for this life, with due and modest regard to qualitie, and the decent circumstances of that maintain'd and procurable by worthy, open, and honorable wages, in a vertuous, but to be neglected and despis'd as base and ignoble, in a false and

vicious age. For, besides acquisitions so obtain'd, are ever procured by low and servile arts, they are of no longer durance than the favorite prostitute his conscience: and sacrifices all sentiments of genuine and real greatnesse, which will recurr some time or other vpon generous minds, seduc'd, if once they euer come to recollect themselues. It were a most happy thing if young persons (and next to a miracle 'tis they should not) did believe the experience of that almost 7000 yeares forefathers, who once were young, haue told their children, and the wisest bookes recorded, and the perpetual events of things declar'd it; that piety, sincerity, justice, temperance, and all that series and chaine of moral vertue, recom'ended to vs, as well by the wiser heathen as by God himselfe, and the very dictates of nature, are the onely meanes of obtaining that tranquill and happy state a prudent man would choose, euen in this life onely, a religious and truely wise in that to come; and he was both greate and wise, and well experienced, who pronounced it: I haue seene an end of all perfection, but thy com'andments are exceeding broad; ample in all dimensions, in a word, im'ortal.

Madame, this topic is as large as the world. This book I say of all the philosophers, the precepts of all the divines, the histories and records of all ages. The experience of all mankind, every day's vicissitude proclaims it alowd, and neuer was it more articulate and conspicuous than in this conjuncture, present, and approaching revolution. And it is an eternal truth, and can neuer be otherwise, that true honor and happinesse and the things which we seeke (would consum'ate our felicity and bound our farther pursuits) is not to be found in the things which passe away like a dreame when we awake; but in a brave and generous soule, that

having those advantages by birth or laudable acquisition, can cultivate them to the production of things beneficial to mankind, the government, and eminent station in which God has placed him. This is greater indeed, and truly noble. The fruit of it is a present good, the memory and contemplation of it a lasting pleasure and a glorious recompense. But what's all this to y^r La^p, who knows all I can say in this, or any other subject? It is then nothing to inform and teach y^r L^p. But an account of my most retired thoughts, and an idea of the passion I have, that you may, from the yet remaining hopes of y^r illustrious family (in whom there already appears such fair impressions and noble characters of virtue) I find always something to alleviate y^r past sufferings and unexpected traverses in your present circumstances. Do not therefore with much anxiety afflict y^r self at what is past, farther than to improve y^r experience and exercise y^r virtue by its documents. But look forward at present and always upwards for the time to come, and to things possible and permanent, which will bring peace at the last, and those will God keep in perfect peace whose minds are staid in him. Suffer nothing then to abate of y^r courage and Christian fortitude; you know who is a present help in trouble, and you will do nothing without consulting him, and you'll need no other in this world to bring you safe out of them all. Remember that One (who yet suffer'd much greater) found by experience (as so will y^r La^p I am persuaded wth joy) how good it was that he had been afflicted. And verily, this is the best use we should make of all God's methods and dispensations of this sort; and it is by the suffrage and observation of all holy persons, a greater indication of God's paternal care and favour, than a continual current and succession of temporal prosperity. This y^r La^p will find to

be the tenor of those divine oracles you so assiduously reade and meditate on, and which will fill your heart with more real joy and inward consolation than you could ever have derived from all other helps and friends, princes and greate men in this wretched, perishing world.

The tiresome mortifications I haue gon thro' for about 15 yeares past, being intangled in a trust: besides that of the late V. Countesse Mordaunt (of which I am but newly deliver'd) my owne tedious suite in Chancery, with the burden of no few yeares upon me, and domestic cares (requiring some indulgence) consider'd y^r La^p is pleas'd to accept of my son, who is disposed to serve you, if you com'and it, and that my L^d Godolphin be one in the trust: because, tho' his L^p should not be so active in the industrious part, he will be of greate advantage to the safe and prudential; which is, I assure your La^p, of greate moment in confidences of this nature.

I am, Mad^m, y^r, &c.

Says-Court, 22 Dec. 1688.

To my Lord Spencer.

My Lord,

Having now tempted and sufficiently provoked your L^p in Plautus, Cicero, Pliny, Seneca, Lipsius, &c. (for y^r L^p is master of all styles) I give it over. On my word, your L^p has tam'd the shrew, and 'tis more than time for me to leave off the pedant, and write henceforth in my mother tongue.

And now I think on't, I cannot a little wonder that whilst there are extant so many volumes of letters, and familiar epistles in the politer modern

languages, Italian, Spanish, & French, we should have so few tolerable ones of our owne country now extant, who have adorned y^e part of elegancy, so proper and so becoming persons of the nobility, quality, and men of businesse, and education too, as well as lovers and courtiers of the faire sex. Sir Fr: Bacon, D^r Donne, and I hardly remember any else who haue publish'd any thing of considerable, and they but gleanings of, or cabbal men, who have put many things in a heape, without much choice or fruits, especially as to the culture of the style or language. The genius of the nation being almost another thing than it was at that time. James Howell published his "Ho-Eliañæ," for which he indeede was laught at; not for his letters, which acquaint us with a number of passages worthy to be known, and had never else ben preferred, but which, were the language enlightened with that sort of exercise and conversation, I should not question its being equal to any of the most celebrated abroad. When, therefore, your L^p shall think fit to descend so low as to believe it not unworthy your reflexions (you who are so perfect a master in the learned tongues), how would you embellish your native language, and set an emulous example to others; revive the dire and mournful age, and put it out of debt by the product of a native flock of our owne, and, as I said, the most usefull.

I am, D^r Sir, &c.

To Mr. Pepys.

Sir,

I was on Wednesday last (afternoone) to kisse your hands; but finding you abroad, and my selfe obliged to returne that evening, that I might receive the Countess of Sunderland, who sent me word she

would call at my house the next morning early, before her embarkment for Holland, I do now write, what I should have said to you, if time had permitted; and that is to let you know, that upon your late communicating to me your desire of adorning your choice library with the pictures of men illustrious for their parts and erudition, I did not in the least suspect your intention of placing my shallow head amongst those heroes, who, knowing my unworthynesse of that honour, will in spite of your good opinion of Mr. Kneller for his skill of drawing to the life, either condemne his colouring, that he made me not blush; or me for impudence that I did not. But this is not all: for men will question your judgment, or suspect you of flattery, if you take it not downe; for in good earnest, when I seriously consider how unfit I am to appeare in the classe of those learned gentlemen, I am perfectly asham'd, & should say with much more reason than Marullus (after a recension of the famous poets)

Nos, si quis inter cæteros locat Vates,
Onerat, quam honorat verius.

'Tis pitty and a diminution, so elegant a place & precious collection should have any thing in it of vulgar, but such as Paulus Jovius has celebrated, and such as you told me you were procuring; the Boyles, the Gales, & the Newtons of our nation: what, in God's name, should a planter of colewort do amongst such worthies? Setting him aside, I confesse to you I was not displeas'd with the fancy of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, when to adorne his stately palace (since demolished) he collected the pictures of as many of our famous countrymen as he could purchase or procure, instead of the heads and busts of forreiners, whose names, thro' the unpardonable mistake or (shall I call it) pride of painters,

they scorne to put to their pieces, imagining it would dishonour their art, should they transmit every thing valuable to posterity besides faces, which signifie nothing to the possessor (vnlesse their relations were to live for ever, & allways in being), so as one cannot tell whether they were drawn from any of their friends or ancestors, or the picture of some porter or squalid chimney sweeper, whose prolix beard and wrinkled forehead might passe him for a philosopher. I am in perfect indignation at this folly, as oft as I consider what extravagant sums are given for a dry scalp of some (forsooth) Italian painting, be it of Raphael or Titian himselfe; which would be infinitely more estimable, were we assured it was the picture of the learned Court of Mirandula, Politian, Guicciardini, Machiavel, Petrarch, Ariosto, or Tasso; or some famous pope, prince, poet, or other hero of those times. Give me Carolus Magnus, a Tamerlaine, a Scanderbeg, Solyman the Magnificent, Matt: Corvinus, Lorenzo, Cosimo Medicis, Andrea Doria, Ferdinando Cortez, Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Castracani Castruccio, and a Sforza; the effigies of Cardan, and both the Scaligers, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, and Galileo. I say give me the portraits of an Isabella of Arragon or Castile, and her foure daughters; Lucretia d'Este (to whom our Queene is related), Victoria Colonna, Hippolita Strozzi, Petrarch's Laura, Anna Maria Schurman, and above all Hellen Cornaro, daughter of a procurator of St. Marco (one of the most illustrious families of Venice) who received the degree of Doctoresse at Padua for her universal knowledge & erudition, upon the importunity of that famous University prevailing on her modesty. She had ben often sought in honorable marriage by many greate persons, but preferring the Muses before all other considerations, she preserved herselfe a virgin, and being not long since

deceased, had her obsequies celebrated at Rome by a solemn procession, & elogie of all the witts of that renowned citty. Nor may I forget the illustrious of our owne nation of both sexes : the Westons, Moores, Seymours, Sir J. Cheke, Ann Countess of Oxon (whose monument is in Westminster Abbey), the late Mrs. Philips, & Princesse Elizabeth, eldest daughter to the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, to whom the greate Des Cartes dedicates his bookes, with a world of more renowned characters, famous for armes & arts; rather than the most beautiful courtezan or prostitute of them all, who has nothing to commend her but her impudence & that she was a painted strumpet. Did it ever prejudice the glory of the inimitable Holbein, for putting the names of our greate Duke of Norfolk, Henry the Eighth when lesse corpulent, Edward the Sixth & Treasurer Cromwell, Jane Seymour, Anne Bulleyn, Charles Brandon, Althea Talbot, Countesse of Arundel, Card. Wolsey, S^r Thomas More & his learned daughters, S^r Brian Tuke, Dr. Nowel, Erasmus, Melancthon, and even honest Frobenius, among innumerable other illustrious of that age for learning & other vertues? I aske if this were the least diminution to the fame of one who realy painted to the life beyond any man this day living? But, in truth, they seeme from the beginning jealous of their owne honour, & afraid of being forgotten : hence we find ΓΑΥΚΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΘΠΟΙΘΙ insculpt on the Farnesian Hercules, and *Michael Angelo fecit, P. P. Rubens pinxit, Marc. Antonio cœlavit, &c.* There is not that wretched print but weares the name of no-artist, whilst our painters take no care to transmitt to posterity the names of the persons whom they represent; through which negligence so many excellent pieces come after a while to be dispers'd amongst brokers & up-holsters, who expose them to the streetes in every

dirty and infamous corner. 'Tis amongst their dusty lumber we frequently meete with Queene Elizabeth, Mary Q. of Scots, the Countesse of Pembroke, Earles of Leycester and Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, S^r Philip Sidney, Cecil, Buckhurst, Walsingham, Sir Francis Bacon, King James & his favourite Buckingham, and others, (who made the greate figure in this nation), of John Husse, Zisca, Luther, Calvine, Beza, Socinus, William & Maurice Princes of Orange, Charles the Fifth, Philip the Second, Francis the First; the Dukes of Alba, Parma, Don John of Austria, and Count Egmont; authors of sects, greate captaines and politicians (famous in our historie in other countries), flung many times behind the hangings, covered with dust and cobwebs. Upon this account it is, men curious of books & antiquities have ever had medals in such estimation, & rendered them a most necessary furniture to their libraries, because by them we are not onely inform'd whose real image & superscription they beare, but have discovered to us, in their reverses, what heroical exploits they perform'd; —their famous temples, basilicæ, thermæ, amphitheaters, aquæducts, circuses, naumachias, bridges, triumphal arches, columns, historical & other pompous structures & erections by them; and which have ben greatly assistant to y^e recovery of the antient & magnificent architecture, whose real monuments had ben so barbarously defac'd by the Goths & other truculent invaders, that without this light (& some few ruines yet extant justifie those types) that so vsefull order and ornament of columns & their concomitant members were hardly to be known by the text of Vitruvius, and all his learned Commentators: and till Daniel Barbaro, Leon Alberto, Raphael, M. Angelo & others raised it out of the dust, & restor'd that noble art, by their owne and other learned men consulting & comparing the reverses of medals &

medalions: besides what they farther contribute to the elucidation of many passages in historie, chronologie, & geography. So as I do not see how Mr. Pepys's library can be long without this necessary adjunct. It is amongst the medals we meete the ancient legislators, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, &c. There we find Orpheus, Linus, & the old bards, and there is mention of Numus Homericus by Strabo, & (if I well remember) by Aristotle himselfe too; as there is stil extant those of the brave Hector & Achilles: so as among them we may see what kind of persons were Aristides, Themistocles, Epaminondas, Miltiades, Alexander, & Cyrus, Darius, &c. The grave philosophers Socrates, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Zeno, and Demosthenes, shew their faces to this day revered in our medals. Those of the Hebrew represent to us the rod of Aaron & pot of manna, & shew how Juda was led captive. We come by medals to understand the antient weight & measures, and the value of monies: you will see there when it was that princes assum'd the radiant crownes, and what the diademe was. I might proceede to y^e Punic Hanibal, Juba, &c. to the Consular & Imperial of the Romans from Romulus, the Scipios, Catos, down to this age of ours, if after Pertinax, and decline of that empire, sculpture & all good arts had not fall'n with it. You will therefore be curious of having the first Cæsars, the greate Julius (after his Pharsalian victorie) being the first honour'd with having his effigies, old, leane & bald as he was, in medal, or rather in monie, which are rare to procure in gold or small copper. There are of these and the other Emperors with Greeke inscriptions also. Who is not delighted to behold the true effigies of the famous Augustus, cruel Nero, & his master Seneca? Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Severus, the greate Constantine & his devout mother Helena?

For we have in medals the beautiful Cleopatra & her paramour; Drusilla, Livia, Julia, Agrippina, Antonia, Valeria, Messalina, Octavia, Poppæa Sabina, all of them Augustas; and sundry more of the faire sex, who rul'd the world. I have seene a series of the Popes from St. Peter, & amongst the reputed Heresiarchs, that medalion of John Huss & Hierome of Prague's martyrdome, with the memorable inscription *Post centum annos vos Cito*, which fell out at the appearing of Martin Luther exactly at that period. But, Sir, I am sensible I have quite tir'd you by this time with medals, & therefore I will say nothing concerning those observations in the filing, sharpnes, & due extanic vernish, & other markes, necessary to be critically skill'd in to prevent the being cheated & impos'd upon by copies & counterfeits for antique & original: (tho' yet all copies, if well dissembled, stamp'd, or cast, are not to be rejected), because you will both for this and all the rest, consult Fulvius Ursinus, Goltzius, Mons^r St. Amant, Otto, D^r Spon, Vaillant, Dr. Patin, and (*instar omnium*) the most learned Spanhemius in that treatise *de præstantia et usu Numismatum Antiquorum*. You will likewise make vse of your friends D^r Gale, M^r. Henshaw, Hill, and M^r Justell, vpon whose skill & judgment you may relie; tho' even the most skillful may now & then be mistaken: but you shall be sure not to be paid with trash, such as I do not (as I say'd) call the Antiquo Moderno if well imitated. These persons y^r friends whom I mention'd, will I am sure be ready to assist you in this laudable curiositie. And if they can be purchas'd together, as accidentally they sometimes may, it will save you a greate deale of paines, & enrich you at once. But otherwise, they are likeliest met withall amongst the goldsmiths, & casuall as one walkes the streetes on foot, & passes by the stalls. Mr. Ashmole, our com-

mon friend, had collected all the antient & modern coines of this kingdome, which were very rare, together with seuerall medalls of our British, Saxon, & other Kings vpon occasion of births, coronations, marriages, & other solemnities. I know not whether they escap'd the burning of his study at the Middle Temple. But for the most accurate ordering & disposing of medals, so as one may more commodiously take them out of their repositories, Mr. Charleton¹ of that Society, has a peculiar method, as he is the most elegant & rarely furnish'd in all his other collections. In the meane time, the curious of this sort of erudition (I meane of medalls) were formerly, & I believe at present, very few in England. For besides S^r Robert Cotton, M^r Selden, S^r Simon D'Ewes, S^r Tho. Hanmer of Hanmer, S^r Will^m Paston, and the late M^r Hervey, I find hardly any. That greate lover of antiquity Thomas Earle of Arundel had a very rich collection as well of medalls as other intaglias, belonging to the cabinet he purchas'd of Daniel Nice at the cost of ten thousand pounds, which with innumerable other rarities, haue ben scatter'd & squander'd away by his Countesse when she got that treasure to Amsterdam, whilst my Lord was in Italy, where he died. Aboundance of them she bestow'd also on the late vnhappy Viscount Stafford, her beloved son; & such as remained, Lely, Wright, & the rest of the painters, panders and misses, haue cheated the late Duke of Norfolk of. The same fate befell a noble collection of medals belonging to the then curious S^r Simon Fanshaw of Ware-park; they were after his decease thrown about the house (as that worthy gent: his son S^r Richard, L^d Ambass^r in Spain, from whom I had the relation, has told me,) for children to play at counter with: as were those elegant types of S^r Henry

¹ See vol. iii. p. 29.

Savills at Eaton, which that learned Knight procur'd with greate cost for his edition of St. Chrysostome, & as it com'only fares with such curiosities where the next heire is not a virtuoso. So vaine a thing it is to set ones heart vpon any thing of this nature with that passion & mania, that unsatiabie Earle whom I mention'd did, to the detriment of his estate and family ;—*mediocria firma*. The medals in our Universitie Libraries are not yet at all considerable, tho' Obadiah Walker were an industrious promoter of it, & not vnskillfull in them. Mr. Ralph Sheldon, of Weston in Warwickshire, left a very handsome collection both of gold, siluer, & copper, antient & moderne, part of which were bequeathed to a sister of my Lady Tuke's, who not long since offer'd to haue sold them. I brought Mons^r Justell to see them, but they were much ouer-valued, & whether she haue since dispos'd of them I neuer inquir'd. At present I know of none who can show a better chosen set of medals than the Earle of Clarendon, to whose late father (after all this tedious parenthesis) I returne, & haue a mind to entertaine you a while longer with what I had begun, where I spake of his purpose to furnish all the roomes of state and other apartments with the pictures of the most illustrious of our nation, especialy of his Lo^{ps} time & acquaintance, & of diuers before it. There were at full length, and as I doubt not but you well remember to haue seene, the greate Duke of Buckingham, the brave S^r Horace & Francis Vere, S^r Walt. Raleigh, S^r Phil. Sidney, the greate Earle of Leicester, Treasurer Buckhurst, Burleigh, Walsingham, Cecil, L^d Chan^r Bacon, Elsmere, & I think all the late Chancelors & graue Judges in the reignes of Q. Elizabeth, & her successors James & Charles the First. For there was Treas^r Weston, Cottington, Duke Hamilton, the magnificent Earle of Carlisle, Earles of Carnarvon, Bristol, Holland, Lindsey, Northumberland, Kingston,

and Southampton: Lords Falkland and Digby (I name them promiscuously as they come into my memorie), & of Charles the Second, besides the Royal Family, the Dukes of Albemarle and Newcastle, Earles of Derby, Shrewsbury, St. Alban's, the brave Montrosse, Sandwich, Manchester, &c.: and of the coife, S^r Ed. Coke, Judge Berkeley, Bramston, S^r Orlando Bridgman, Jeofry Palmer, Selden, Vaughan, S^r Rob. Cotton, Dugdale, Mr. Camden, Mr. Hales of Eton. The Archbishops Abbot & Laud, Bishops Juxon, Sheldon, Morley, and Duppa: Dr. Sanderson, Brownrig, Dr. Donne, Chillingworth, & seuerall of the Cleargie & others of the former & present age. For there were the pictures of Fisher, Fox, S^r Tho. More, Tho. Lord Cromwell, Dr. Nowel, &c. And what was most agreeable to his L^{ps} general humor, old Chaucer, Shakspeare, Beaumont & Fletcher, who were both in one piece, Spencer, Mr. Waller, Cowley, Hudibras, which last he plac'd in the roome where he vs'd to eate & dine in publiq, most of which, if not all, are at the present at Cornebery in Oxfordshire; together with the library, which y^e present Earle has considerably improv'd, besides what bookes he has at Swallowfield not contemptible, & the manuscript copies of what concernes the Parliamentary Records, Journals, & Transactions which I haue heard both himself & the late vnfortunate Earle of Essex (who had also the same curiosity) affirme cost them £500 transcribing & binding, & indeede furnish a prety large roome. To compleate & encourage this noble and singular collection, I sent his L^p a list of the names following: Cardinals Pole and Wolsey; Gardner Bp. of Winchester, Cranmer, Ridley, old Latimer, Bp. Usher, Mr. Hooker, Occham, Ripley, John Duns, Roger Bacon, Suisset, Tunstal Bp. of Duresme (correspondent with Erasmus), Tompson, Ven: Bede, if at least to be met with in some ancient office or

masse booke, where I haue seene some of those old famous persons accurately painted either from the life or from copies: S^r John Cheke, S^r Tho. Bodley, Smith, Jo. Berkeley, Mr. Ascham, S^r Fulk Greuil, Buchannan, Dr. Harvey, Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, S^r Hen. Wotton (I still recite them promiscuously & not like an herauld), S^r Fra. Drake, S^r Rich. Hawkins, Mr. Cavendish, Martine Frobisher, &c.; some of which his Lo^p procured, but was you know interrupted, and after all this apparatus and grandeur, died an exile, & in the displeasure of his Majesty & others who envied his rise & fortune—*tam breves Populi Romani amores!* But I shall say no more of his ministrie, and what was the pretence of his fall, than that we haue liued to see greate revolutions. The buffoons, parasites, pimps, & concubines, who supplanted him at Court, came to nothing not long after, and were as little pitied. 'Tis something yet too early to publish the names of his delators, for fear of one's teeth. But time will speake truth, and sure I am the event has made it good. Things were infinitely worse manag'd since his disgrace, & both their late Ma^{ties} fell into as pernicious counsels as euer Princes did: whilst what euer my L^d Chancel^{rs} skill, whether in law or politics, the offices of State & Justice were filled with men of old English honor & probitie; lesse open bribery & ostentation; there was at least something of more grauity and forme kept up (things, howeuer railled at, necessary in Courts): magnificence & antient hospitalitie in his Ma^{ties} houses, more agreeable to the genius of this nation than the open & avowed luxurie & prophane-ness which succeeded, *à la mode de France*, to which this favorite was a declared enemy vpon my certaine knowledge. There were indeede heinous matters laied to his charge, which I could neuer see prov'd; & you & I can tell of many that haue fall'n and yet suffer under that calamitie.

But what's all this, you'll say, to our subject? Yes, he was a greate lover at least of books, & furnish'd a very ample library, writ himselfe an elegant style, fauour'd & promoted the designe of the Royal Society; and it was for this, and in particular for his being very kind to me both abroad & at home, that I sent Naudæus to him in a dedicatory Adresse, of which I am not so much asham'd as of the Translation. There be some, who not displeas'd with the style of that Epistle, are angrie at the application. But they do not consider that greate persons, & such as are in place to doe greate & noble things, whateuer their other defects may be, are to be panegyriz'd into the culture of those vertues, without which 'tis to be suppos'd they had neuer ariv'd to a power of being able to encourage them. *Qui monet ut facias*—you remember the sequel. And 'tis a justifiable figure; nor is it properly adulation, but a civilitie due to their characters. As for the Translation, it has ben so insufferably abus'd at the presse, that the shame any uncorrected copy should come abroad has made me suppress as many as I could light on, not without purpose of publishing a new edition, and which now perhaps might be more seasonable, since the humor of exposing books *sub hastâ* is become so epidemical, that it may possibly afford some direction to gentlemen who are making collections out of them. Besides, the first impression is I heare prety well worne out, and I should be very unfortunate if it should miscarry twice, or meete with such another accident as happen'd, it seemes, to the blotted manuscript at Oxford: the circumstances whereof I will not now trouble you withall.

And so I haue don with my L^d Chancelor. But not so soone with my worthy friend Mr. Pepys, to whose learned & laudable curiosity of still improving his choice collection I should not aduise a solicitous expense of hauing the pictures of so many greate

persons paynted in oyle, which were a vast & unnecessary charge; tho' not so extraordinary a one to my L^d Chancel^r as one may imagine, because when his designe was once made known, euery body who either had them of their owne or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by these presents; by which meanes he got many excellent pieces of Vandyke, and other originals of Lely, & the best of our modern masters hands. But if, insteade of these, you think fit to add to your title-pages, in a distinct volume, the heads & effigies of such as I haue enumerated, and of as many other as either in this or any other age have ben famous for armes or arts, in *taille douce*, and with very tollerable expense to be procur'd amongst the print-sellers, I should not reprove it; I am sure you would be infinitely delighted with the assembly, and some are so very well don to the life, that they may stand in competition wth the best paintings. This were a cheape and so much a more vsefull curiosity, as they seldome are without their names, ages, and elogies of the persons whose portraits they represent: I say you will be exceedingly pleas'd to contemplate the effigies of those who haue made such a noise & bustle in the world, either by their madnesse & folly, or a more conspicuous figure by their wit & learning. Nor would I yet confine you to stop here, but to be continually gathering as you happen to meete wth other instructive types. For vnder this classe may come in batails, sieges, triumphs, justes & tournaments, coronations, cavalcads, & entries of ambassadors, processions, funebral & other pomps, tombs, tryals & executions: stately edifices, machines, antique vases, spoiles, basse relievos, intaglios, & cameos taken from achates, onyxes, cornelians, & other precious stones; ruines, landskips, if from real subjects, not fancies which are innumerable & not necessary, but such as relate to historie, and for reasons specified

more at large in my Treatise on Chalcographie. Your library being by this accession made suitable to your generous mind & steady virtue, I know none living master of more happinesse, since besides the possession of soe many curiosities, you vnderstand to vse & improue them likewise, & haue declar'd that you will endeauour to secure¹ what with so much cost & industrie you haue collected, from the sad dispersions many noble libraries & cabinets haue suffer'd in these late times : one auction, I may call it diminution, of a day or two, hauing scatter'd what has ben gathering many yeares. Hence it is that we are in England so defectiue of good libraries among the gentlemen & in our greatest townes : Paris alone, I am persuaded, being able to shew more than all the three nations of Greate Britaine : those of Mem'ius, Puteane, Thuanus, Cordesius, Seguire, Colbert, Condé, & others innumerable of bishops, abbots, advocates, antiquaries, & a world of learned persons of the long robe ; besides the publiq libraries at St. Victoire, the Sorbonne, & aboue all, that of Mazarin (now, with Richelieu's & sundry others, swallow'd vp in the present King's), far exceeding any thing we can shew at home, tho' we have as much (if not greater) plenty & variety of the best books as any country in the learned world. But, as I said, they are in private cabinets, & seldome well chosen, vnlesse in the Vniversities, where, if one may judge by the few productions of so many learned men as are there at leasure, they signifie so very little to the learned world. This greate & august citty of London, abounding with so many wits and letter'd persons, has scarce

¹ This Mr. Pepys did, by giving his books and collection of prints to Magdalen College, Cambridge, where they now are under the name of the Pepysian Library, in the original book-cases and presses, placed in a room which they exactly fit.

one library furnish'd and indow'd for the publiq. S^r John Cotton's, collected by his noble vncle, is without dispute the most valuable in MSS. especially of British and Saxon antiquities; but he refuses to impart to vs the catalogue of this treasure, for feare, he tells me, of being disturb'd. That of Westminster is not much considerable: still lesse that of Syon Colledge. But there is hope his Ma^{ties} at St. James's may emerge & be in some measure restor'd againe, now that it comes vnder the inspection of the learned Mons. Justell, who you know was owner of a very considerable one at Paris. There are in it a greate many noble manuscripts yet remaining, besides the Tecla; and more would be, did some royal or generous hand cause those to be brought back to it, which still are lying in mercenary hands for want of two or three hundred pounds to pay for their binding; many of which being of the oriental tongues, will soone else find Jewes & chapmen that will purchase & transport them, from whence we shall neuer retriue them againe. For thus has a cabinet of ten thousand medals, not inferior to most abroad, & far superior to any at home, which were collected by that hopefull cherisher of greate and noble things Prince Henry, been imbezil'd and carried away during our late barbarous rebellion, by whom & whither none can or is like to discover. What that collection was, not onely of bookes and medals, but of statues & other elegant furniture, let the learned library-keeper Patritius Junius tell you in his notes ad Epist. S^u Clementis ad Corinthos: "quem locum," (speaking of St. James's) "si vicinam pinacothecam bibliothecæ celeberrimæ conjunctam, si numismata antiqua Græca ac Romana, si statuas & signa ex ære et marmore consideres, non im'érito thesaurum antiquitatis et ταμειδον instructissimum nominare potes," &c.

Were not this losse enough to break a lover's

heart? The Royal Society at Gresham Colledge has a mixture, tho' little apposite to the institution & designe of that worthy assembly, yet of many excellent books & some few MSS. given them at my instance by the late Duke of Norfolk, w^h is but a part of that rare collection of good authors which by the industrie & direction of Francis Junius, the learned son of the learned Patrick, Mr. Selden, & the purchase of what was brought at once out of Germanie, was left neglected at Arundel House before it was demolished & converted into tenements. I now mention Mr. Selden. There is a fragment of that great antiquarie's librarie at the Middle Temple; but his manuscripts & best collections were bequeath'd to the Bodleian at Oxford, to which both himselfe & especialy Archbishop Laude were the most munificent benefactors: tho' with all these, so poore in manuscripts that they were ashamed to publish their catalogue with that of the *impressorum*, but which might yet have ben equally enriched with any perhaps in Europe, had they purchas'd what was lately offer'd them by the executors of Isaac Vossius, tho' indeede at a great price, who have since carried them back into Holland, where they expect a quicker mercate. I wish'd with all my heart some brave and noble Mæcenas would have made a present of them to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, where that sumptuous structure (design'd for a library) would have ben the fittest repository for such a treasure. Where are our Suissets, Bodleys, Lauds, Sheldons, bishops & opulent chancelors? Will the *Nepotismo* neuer be satisfied.—*Sed præstat motus componere.* The next to that of the Bodleian are the librarys of Magdalen Coll., Christ Church, University, & Baliol, which last is furnish'd with diuers considerable MSS. & lately (thro' the bounty of Sir Tho. Wendie) with a number of other curious books. But to returne againe neerer this Citty:

That at Lambeth, replenish'd at present with excellent books, ebbs & flows like the Thames running by it, at euery prelat's succession or translation : there's at present a good assembly of manuscripts in a roome by themselues. The Bishop of Ely has a very well stor'd library ; but the very best is what Dr. Stillingfleete, Deane of St. Paule's, has at Twickenam, ten miles out of towne. Onely that good & learned man (Dr. Tennison) of St. Martine's, neere you, has begun a charity, for so I reckon it as well as that of his two scholes, &c. worthy his publiq & generous spirit, and the esteeme of all who know him. Our famous lawyer S^r Edw. Coke purchas'd a very choice library of Greeke & other MSS. which were sold him by Dr. Meric Casaubon, son of the learned Isaac ; & these, together wth his delicious villa, Durdens, came to y^e possession of y^e present Earle of Berkley from his unkle S^r Robert Cook. He has sometimes told me he would build a convenient repository for them, which should be publiq for the use of the cleargie of Surrey ; but what he has don, or thinks to do herein, I know not. Why is not such provision made by a publiq law & contribution in euery county of England. But this genius dos not allways preside in our representatiues. I haue heard that S^r Henry Sauill was master of many precious MSS. & he is frequently celebrated for it by the learned Valesius, almost in euery page of that learned man's annotations on Eusebius & the ecclesiastical historians publish'd by him. The late Mr. Hales of Eton, whom I mention'd, had likewise a very good library ; and so had Dr. Cosin (late Bishop of Duresme), a considerable part of which I had agreed with him for my selfe during his exile abroad, as I can shew under his owne hand ;¹ but

¹ The following letter from Dr. Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, to Mr. Evelyn, is probably here alluded to :

his late daughter, since my Lady Garret, thought I had not offer'd enough, & made difficulty in deliuering them to me 'till neere the time of his Ma^{ties} restauration, & after that, the Deane her father, becoming Bishop of that opulent see, bestow'd them on the library there. But the L^d Primate Usher was inferior to none I haue named among the cleargie for rare MSS. a greate part of which being brought

Sir,

I haue here set y^e prices (w^{ch} I paid) to y^e bookes w^{ch} you have added. but there be 4 or 5 of them (marked wth - +) which I desire to keepe, because I haue written some notes in y^m of my owne. The remaynder of y^e whole summe (as you will see at y^e foote of y^e inclosed paper) wilbe 105^l. And truly, S^r, I thought I had p^evented any further motion of abatem^t, by the large offer y^t I made to you, of putting yo^r wives confident [friend] (for it concerns her only) to lose the third part of what her frd paid: specially considering that she is now forced to pay very neere 200^l. for y^e library, besides what it cost at first. I doe not conceive that it wilbe any great charge to you to have y^m brought to London, where they wilbe subject to lesse hazard then in other places, & to no more there then all other worldly things are in all other places besides. If you consider their number, I desire you would be pleased to consider likewise, that they are a choice-number, & a company of y^e best selected books among y^m all. When these & others of the like sort are gone, I haue good hope, y^t those who come to buy the remaynder & y^e worst of y^m all, will not desire to have above a third part of the price abated them: & therefore the better sort (such as you haue chosen) might in reason goe at a better rate; & indeed I haue advised her, not to abate above a 4th part for most of them, & for some to hold y^m at y^e same or a greater price then they cost; as for example, there is in yo^r note Plinie's Naturall Historie in Engl^{sh} priced at 36^s w^{ch} is worth 3^l.; Camden's Errors pric'd at 5^s 6^d for w^{ch} I have seen 20^s given; Paulus Jovius at 20^s, w^{ch} sells now in Paris at 4. pistols, & Pol. Vergil at 10^s, w^{ch} sells here for 10^l.; Will'm Malmesbury at 15^s for w^{ch} they demand here 30^l.; & Asser. Menev. &c. at 14^s, w^{ch} they will not part with here nor elsewhere abroad for 20^l. In regard whereof I made accompt, that you would rather have said y^e abatem^t had ben too large then too little, w^{ch} was made & offered so freely by

This 18th of July,

1651.

Yo^r humble serv^t.

TC.

out of Ireland, & left his son-in-law S^r Timothy Tirrill, was dispos'd of to giue bread to that incomparable prelate during the late fanatic war ; such as remain'd yet at Dublin were preserv'd, and by a publiq purse restored & placed in the colledge library of that city. I haue already mention'd what Isaac Vossius brought ouer, that had been his learned father's, & many other manuscripts which Isaac had himselfe brought from Queene Christina out of Sweden in recompense of his honorarie, whilst he was invited thither with Salmasius, Des Cartes, Blundel, & others, by the heroic and royal errant. But those birds, as I sayd, haue taken their flight, & are gon. I forbear to name the late Earle of Bristol's & his kinsman S^r Kenelm Digby's libraries, of more pomp than intrinsic value, as chiefly consisting of modern poets, romances, chymical, & astrological bookes, for I had the Catalogue in my possession before they were disposed of, put into my hands by my Lord Danby, then Treasurer, who desir'd me to giue my opinion of them, which I faithfully did. As for those of S^r Kenelm's, the Catalogue was printed, & most of them sold in Paris, as many better haue lately ben in London. The Duke of Lauderdale's is yet intire, choicely bound, & to be sold by a friend of mine, to whom they are pawn'd : but it comes far short of his relation's, the Lord Maitland's, which was certainly the noblest, most substantial, & accomplished library that euer pass'd vnder the speare, and it heartily grieu'd me to behold its limbs, like those of the chaste Hippolytus, separated & torne from that so well chosen & compacted body. The Earle of Anglesey's, & severall others since, by I know not what invidious fate, pass'd the same fortune, to what euer influence & constellation now reigning malevolent to books & libraries, which can portend no good to the future age.

And now I haue in good earnest don with libraries; but yet not quite with Mr. Pepys. For I mention none of all these as if I thought it necessary euery private gentleman's study should be made common, but wish we had some more communicative & better furnish'd with good books, in one of the greatest citties of the universe (London); & for that end that a stately portico were so contriu'd at the west end of St. Paule's, as might support a palatine, capable of such a designe; & that every company and corporation of the Citty, euery apprentice at his freedom, assisted at first by a general collection thro-out the nation, a copy of euery booke printed within the Citty & Vniuersities, did cast in their symbals for a present stock & a future ample funde. But this we are to expect when kings are philosophers, or philosophers kings; which I think may happen not in this but in Plato's revolution. All that I shall add concerning gentlemen being furnish'd with competent libraries & for most part residing in towne is, how obliging a thing it were, & of infinite effect to the promoting a noble and vsefull conversation of learned gentlemen, if, as there is a Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, and which was fit should be first, since things were before words, so there was an Academie for that of Art & Improvement of speaking & writing well; of which sort there are (you know) some in Paris, & almost in euery considerable citty of Italy, which go under the devises of *La Crusca*, *Humoristi*, *Insensati*, &c.; as that of the *Beaux Esprits* in France, set vp by the late greate Cardinal de Richelieu for the polishing & in-riching of the language, publishing those many accurate pieces which it has from time to time produc'd. It is in these assemblies, where a select number of learned men, persons of the first qualitie, not onely come to heare, but esteeme it an

honour to haue their ingenious exercises passe the test & censure of so many ciuil & polish'd wits. And all the apparatus for this is onely the use of one competent roome in the gentleman's house, where there are chaires & a table, where the person who declaimes being seated with a little more eminency, like the Roman rostrum, & choosing his subject in prose or verse, recites or reades his composures before the company. This, for being but one halfe day or afternoone in the weeke, & retiring in due houre, is of very little inconueniency to the master of the house. Here it is, I say, gentlemen & scholars bring their essays, poems, translations, & other oratorious productions vpon a thousand curious subjects. Here they giue law to words & phrases, & the *Norma loquendi*. These passe censure & bring authors to the touch, reject or entertaine, & indenizon exotics, &c. I neede not enlarge to Mr. Pepys the benefit & noblenesse of such assemblies, who has himselfe seene what illustrious persons vs'd to honor Mr. Justell: how many greate dukes & blew-ribbons, ambassadors as well as bishops, abbots, presidents, and other learned men & trauellers, this brought together into conversation the most humane & obliging in the world; & how exceedingly to be wish'd some noble & worthy gent. would giue a diuersion so becoming & usefully entertaining as it would be. We should not then haue so many crude and fulsome rhapsodies impos'd vpon the English world for genuine witt, language, & the stage, as well as on the auditors & spectators, which would be purg'd from things intollerable. It would inflame, inspire, & kindle another genius and tone of writing, with nervous, natural strength & beauty, genuine and of our owne growth, without allways borrowing & filching from our neighbours. And indeede such was once design'd since the restaura-

tion of Charles the Second (1665), and in order to it three or fowre meetings were begun at Gray's Inn, by Mr. Cowley, Dr. Sprat, Mr. Waller, the D. of Buckingham, Matt. Clifford, Mr. Dryden, & some other promoters of it. But by the death of the incomparable Mr. Cowley, distance & inconvenience of the place, the contagion, & other circumstances intervening, it crumbled away & came to nothing: what straw I had gather'd towards the bricks for that intended pyramid (having the honour to be admitted an inferior labourer) you may command & dispose of, if you can suffer my impertinences: and that which I haue not shew'd you, the plan I drew & was laying before them for that designe, which was, I said, the polishing of the English tongue, & to be one of the first intentions & chieftest subjects of the Academicians.

And now for shame haue don! Methinks I heare you cry out, "What a ramble has Mr. Evelyn made! what a deale of ground for so little game!" Well, you see what the setting up an empty noddle has produc'd, what a deale of inke is run to waste. And indeede I had ben criminally vnanswerable of detriment to the publique as well as to your owne repose, should I haue dar'd to debauch you with so tedious & intemperate a scribble, whilst you were not (*tuo jure*) your owne man. But if for all that, this prove an affliction also, as I haue cause to apprehend it may, the only expedient to rid yourselfe of such impertinents will be, to assume your late buisy & honourable charge againe; when no man can be so impudently uncivil as to expect you should reade his long letters, when he considers how many you will then be obliged to write.

Says-Court, 12 Aug. 1689.

Sam. Pepys's reply to the preceding Letter.

Printed from a MS. Copy, preserved in the Bodleian Library.

Aug. 30, 1689.

Hon^{red} Sir,

I shall never be anxious about pardon for not doing what I ought, where what I ought, is what I can't. And such is y^e giving a due answer to y^e inestimable honour and favour of your letter of this day: and so much the less estimable, by that alone for which you would censure it, its length: as containing in less than five pages, what would cost me five volumes reading, from any other hand but Mr. Evelyn's. And yet some answer you shall (in time) have to it, and y^e best I can give you, namely, by my endeavouring to leave no one syllable unpractis'd of what you have had the goodnesse to teach me in it, and lyes within y^e reach of my pate and purse to execute.

Let this, I beg you, suffice to be sayd upon it at the first view. For though I could hardly find time to take breath 'till I had gone through it, yet I wont promise to haue done reading it this month. One word only I would now say to you upon your first words, about y^e place I have been bold in dooming your picture to, namely, that besides forty other reasons I had (founded upon gratitude, affection, and esteeme,) to covet that in effigie which I most truly value in the original, I had this one more, that I take it for y^e only head living I can hope to invite most by after it, of those few whose memories (when dead) I find myself wishing I could do aught to perpetuate. Among which fills a principal place y^e most excellent Mr. Boyle, concerning whom I lately bespoke your favour, and dare now be y^e bolder in doing it againe, from my having heard, that he has

newly been prevail'd with by D^r King, to have his head taken by one of much less name than Mr. Kneller, and a stranger, one Causabon.

I am ever,

Your most obedient servant and honourer,
S. PEPYS.

Mr. Evelyn's second Letter to Mr. Pepys, in prosecution of his former one of 26th August, 1689.

Deptford, 4 October, 1689.

Sir,

I had newly been reading Aristotle's book *περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς*, &c. or Divination by Dreams (w^{ch} follows his other Treatises "De Animâ, Memoriâ, & Reminiscentiâ"), when y^e very night after, methought Mr. Pepys and I were, among other things, discoursing in his library about y^e ceremonious part of conversation and visites of forme between well-bred persons: and I distinctly remember, that I told him (what is true and no dream) that y^e late E. of St. Alban's (I meane uncle to H. Germaine, y^e present E. of Dover) took extraordinary care at Paris, that his young nephew should learne by heart all y^e formes of encounter, and Court-addresses; such as the Latines would express by *verba honestatis*; and y^e French (if I mistake not, who are masters in these civilities to excess) *l'entregent*: as upon occasion of giving or taking y^e wall, sitting downe, entering in or going out of y^e doore, taking leave at parting; *l'entretien de la ruelle*, and other encounters; *à la cavaliere* among y^e ladys, &c. In all which never was person more adroit than my late neighbour the Marquis de Ruigny. And indeed the Italians and Spaniards exceed us infinitely in this point of good breeding. Nay, I observe generally that our women of quality

often put us to "O Lord, Madam!" when we have nothing to fill up and reply; but, *quorsum hæc?* (a little patience).—I was never in my life subject to night visions 'till of late, that I seldom pass without some reverie, w^{ch} verifies that of St: Peter (cited from the prophet), "That your old men shall dream dreams;" and so you will shortly give me over for a dotard, should I continue to interrupt you thus with my impertinencies. I will only tell you, that my wife, who is of a much sedater temper, and yet often dreaming, has now and then diverted me with stories that hung as orderly together as if they had been studied narratives, some of which I had formerly made her write down for y^e prettiness of them, very seldom broken, or inconsistent (such as commonly are mine), but such as the Peripatetick meanes, where he says *Quieto sanguine fiunt pura somnia*; comparing those other extravagant and confused dreames to y^e resemblances which y^e circles of disturbed and agitated waters reflect, that blend and confound y^e species, and present us with centaures and terrible specters, whilst y^e calmer fountaine gives y^e entire image (as it did with Narcissus's in y^e fable), and entertaine us with our waking thoughts. What could be more explicit of y^e cause of this variety of dreames which he, as well as Hippocrates, and others from them, attribute to the crasis and constitution of y^e body and complexions domineering, with other perturbations affecting the phancy. But leaving these to the Oneirocriticks, I shall make use of it no further, than to let you see, how often you are in my best and serenest thoughts. *Amici de amicis certa sæpè somniant*, ἐρωτικὸς ἐν Ἑρωτι. And if y^e subject of my wild phantasme (which was a dialogue with you about forme of speaking upon ceremonious occasions) naturally leading me to something which I lately mention'd, where I spake of academies and y^e refining

of our language, have not already quite worne out your patience, I would entertaine you here with a copy of what I sent our Chairemain¹ some years since, as an Appendix to my former Letter, and as you injoynd me.

* * * *

So much for this, and I fear too much, now I see how I have blurr'd: but 'tis not worth the writing fairer.

Sir, I stay'd at Lambeth with his Grace 'till past 4, being to returne with y^e Bishops, and go home, as I was engag'd that evening: I called at your house, but you were gone forth, they told me, in your coach, which made me conclude it was not to Lambeth, when I should have been sorry not to have waited on you.

I have now gotten me a paire of new horses; but they are very young, and hardly broken to y^e coach as yet: so soone as I may trust them, and that y^e weather be a little settled, I shall not faile of waiting on you to Mr. Charleton's, and those other virtuosos.

To the Countess of Sunderland.

Madame,

I had prepar'd a lett', to congratulate my young Lorde & y^r Ladys^p, & all y^r illustrious families happy arival & returne to Althorp, when just as I was writing came the sad tidings of the death of that

¹ The observations referred to by Evelyn, will be found already printed in this volume, pages 310-312, having been written 24 years earlier than the present letter. They are inserted in a copy of the very communication to which he alludes, addressed to Sir Peter Wyche, Chairman of a Committee appointed by the Royal Society to consider of the improvement of the English Tongue.

excellent lady y^r daughter the Countesse of Arran, which struck such a damp in me that I was forc'd to breake off from a gratefull subject, to condole with y^r La^p, and those whom I thought it my obligation to endeavour the comforting: and this was the more afflicting, that after such assurances of her Lap^s perfect recovery, vpon which I was meditating to write to you, this fatal newes should dash our hopes againe without any reserue. But so is the will of God, & this the constitution of all things here: no true satisfaction, no permanent felicity to be found on this side heaven: whateuer other circumstances of happinesse, as far as we can reckon any such thing in the power of this world to giue us, may seeme to promise of more lastingnesse & stabilitie, 'tis all but a seeming, a meere shew & false appearance; for either the things which we hope to enjoy are taken from vs & perish in the fruition, or we are taken from them when we think ourselues most secure. Surely if in this life any thing were desirable, the hauing & the leauing virtuous & gracious children behind us (such as might be examples of virtue, adorne & improue the age,) were to be esteemed the most valuable of blessings. But as such blessings are rare, so when God bestows them they are soonest taken from vs againe. They can no more liue in so corrupt an age than a healthfull body in a vitiated aire. What then are we to do when we loose them? Not consider them as lost, but happily absent. Madame, you know how easy 'twere to say abundance of fine things on this subject—no topiq more fruitfull; but what's all this? The wound is deepe and in a sensible part, and tho' time and reason mitigate the present smart, I cannot say it has healed what I often times suffer when the losse of some deare children & friends come into my thoughts. One onely consideration remaines, that as I said they are so far from being lost or

dead, that they liue & are now immortal, & would not for all the world be with us againe. Why then grieue we for them? Why, plainly for ourselues, whom we loue more than God, whose will it is we should part with them, and whateuer he pleases to take from vs heare, & depend on Him alone, who alone will neuer faile, neuer forsake vs, but give us that which shall neuer be taken from vs. Live we then, Mad^{me}, in this religious indifference & resignation. But still God has not left y^r La^p without those blessings. He has but in part eclips'd, & rather borrowed for a while than taken them away. Besides my Lord y^r husband, whom you haue seene restored, & which to see so, you esteemed so greate a mercy; you haue a daughter & a son, who are & ought to be all that you can wish or desire in children. And him will Almighty God preserue: in both you will see the fruites of y^r pious care & reward of your submission to the will of God, and receiue all the discipline you haue past thro' as a greater mark of his favour & loue than if you had neuer suffer'd y^e least checq or diminution of y^r former prosperity. This I am so well perswaded of you feele already, howeuer now by this lugubrious accident as by others sometimes interrupted, that you would not exchange y^r inward consolation, for the returne of all those external fugitives you once injoy'd to be depriv'd of this. Mad^{me}, this is a seacret knowne onely to those who feele it, which, since I am sure you do, I leaue yⁿ to that God who giues it, who is y^r stay, y^r refuge, and may He be all that you can want & desire to supply this losse, & more than you can wish.

Says-Court, 25 July, 1690.

To Lady Sunderland.

Deptford, 4 Aug. 1690.

As for the "Kalendar" y^r L^p mentions, what ever assistance it may be to some novice gardiner, sure I am his Lo^p will find nothing in it worth his notice but an old inclination to an innocent diversion, & the acceptance it found with my deare (and while he liv'd) worthy friend Mr. Cowley, upon whose reputation only it has survived seaven impressions, & is now entering on the eighth with some considerable improvements, more agreeable to the present curiosity. 'Tis now, Mad^m^e, almost fourty yeares since first I writ it, when horticulture was not much advanc'd in England, and neere thirty since first 'twas publish'd, which consideration will I hope excuse its many defects. If in the meane time it deserve the name of no un-usefull trifle, 'tis all it is capable of.

When many yeares ago I came from rambling abroad, observ'd a little there, & a greate deale more since I came home than gave me much satisfaction, & (as events have prov'd) scarce worth one's pursuite, I cast about how I should employ the time which hangs on most young men's hands, to the best advantage; and when books & severer studies grew tedious, & other impertinence would be pressing, by what innocent diversions I might sometime relieve my selfe without compliance to recreations I took no felicity in, because they did not contribute to any improvement of the mind. This set me upon planting of trees, and brought forth my "Sylva," which booke, infinitely beyond my expectation, is now also calling for a fourth impression, and has ben the occasion of propagating many millions of usefull timber-trees thro'out this nation, as I may justifie (without

im'odesty) from y^e many letters of acknowledgement receiv'd from gentlemen of the first quality, and others altogether strangers to me. His late Ma^{ty} Cha. the 2d. was sometimes graciously pleas'd to take notice of it to me, & that I had by that booke alone incited a world of planters to repaire their broken estates & woodes, which the greedy rebels had wasted & made such havock of. Upon this encouragement I was once speaking to a mighty man, then in despotic power, to mention the greate inclination I had to serve his Ma^{ty} in a little office then newly vacant (the salary I think hardly £300) whose province was to inspect the timber trees in his Ma^{ties} Forests, &c. and take care of their culture & improvement; but this was conferr'd upon another, who, I believe, had seldom ben out of the smoke of London, where tho' there was a greate deale of timber, there were not many trees. I confesse I had an inclination to the imployment upon a publique account as well as its being suitable to my rural genius, borne as I was at Wotton, among the woods.

Soon after this, happen'd the direfull conflagration of this Citty, when taking notice of our want of bookes of architecture in the English tongue, I published those most usefull directions of Ten of the best Authors on that subject, whose works were very rarely to be had, all of them written in French, Latine, or Italian, & so not intelligible to our mechanics. What the fruite of that labour & cost has ben (for the sculptures, which are elegant were very chargeable) the greate improvement of our workmen, & several impressions of y^e copy since, will best testifie.

In this method I thought properly to begin with planting trees, because they would require time for growth, and would be advancing to delight & shade at least, & were therefore by no means to be neg-

lected & deferr'd, while building might be raised and finish'd in a sum'er or two if the owner pleas'd.

Thus, Madame, I endeavour'd to do my countrymen some little service, in as natural an order as I could for the improving & adorning their estates & dwellings, &, if possible, make them in love with these usefull & innocent pleasures, in exchange of a wastfull & ignoble sloth which I had observ'd had so universally corrupted an ingenuous education.

To these I likewise added my little History of Chalcography, a treatise of the perfection of Paynting, and of erecting Libraries, ... Medals, with some other intermesses which might divert within dores, as well as altogether without.

To Mr. Anthony a Wood.

S^r,

Having lately received an account from Mr. Aubrey (as formerly by the Specimen & Proposals you have publish'd) of the progresse of y^r intended Historie (Athenæ Oxonienses), and that you desire to be inform'd who one Mr. Welles (sometime since of Deptford) was : the best light I can give you will be from the inscription vpon his wife's monument in that parish-church. Of what county, or family of that name, he originally was, I cannot say ; but it might happly be conjectur'd by the armes, had not the cleark (whom I order'd to send me the inclos'd note) forgotten that circumstance. Thus much onely I can add, that Mr. Welles the husband married into a very antient & worthy family of the Wallengers & Gonstones, of which the last (namely Benjamine) had ben Treasurer of the Navy Royal during the reignes of Hen. VIII. K. Edw. VI. Q. Mary & Eliz. a place of greatest trust & honour. And to these two fami-

lies my wife has a neere relation.—But to returne to Mr. Welles. He was the author of a booke of Shadows or Dialing, an excellent mathematician, well acquainted with Mr. Gunter, Gelibrand, Doc' Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, & other famous mathematicians of his time : I have several horoscopes, & other schemes of his, among my papers. He had two sons (whom I well knew), whereof the eldest succeeded in his father's office of Store-keeper in the Naval Arsenal, a place of good credit, and requiring extraordinary application : His second son, Ben. Welles, physitian, formerly fellow of All Soules in Oxon, a very good scholar, lately deceas'd at Greenewich, leaving onely two daughters.

This, S', being all I can at present learne of Mr. Welles, I take opportunity to superadd something which more immediately concernes my-selfe : 'Tis some time since that Dr. Plot, communicating to me your noble designe, required me (as from y^r selfe) to give him some account of my owne family, &c. : what then I writ I do not now so well approve of : & divers circumstances since that intervening, both as to my fortune (which may possibly transfer my hitherto abode here at Sayes-Court in Kent to the seate of my ancestors in Surry) and an honorable charge, which his late Majestie conferr'd on me, of one of the Commissioners of the Privie Seale, seemes to require some other account from me than that which Dr. Plot exacted of me, which I desired he would intreate you to manage, not as written by me in my owne person (which were a vanitie insupportable), but that you would vse the sponge, as you thought fit, & as becomes the modestie of one who has no other ambition in this, than that (if needes you will take notice of an inconsiderable man) thô I can contribute little to your worthy labour, I may yet endeavor, that the honour you intend me, and

the glorious Vniversitie who is pleas'd to owne me, may not suffer thrô your too greate civilitie, or reproch me of presumption, or ingratitude. I am,
S^r, y^{rs}, &c.

Sayes-Court, May 29, 1691.

S^r,

If I may be so bold I should esteeme it a greate favour, if at least y^u have prepar'd any thing concerning me, that you would transmitt me a copy thereof before you print it.

To my L^d Bishop of Lincoln. (Dr. Thomas Tennison.)

My Lord,

Whatsoever my opinion had been concerning the cause of earthquakes, I am sure it had become me to haue submitted to y^r Lo^{ps} better judgement. But, indeede, I haue long had no other sentiments of it than what I find confirm'd by y^r L^p with so greate reason, by so many experiments, & pregnant instances of the irresistible effects of niter, which no chaines can bind. An experiment which was long since made at Gressham Colledge, were enough to convince one. They prepar'd a ball of solid yron about the thicknesse of a pretty cannon bullet, which was hammer'd both hot and cold, to render it as hard & tough as possible. In this they drill'd a small hole to the center, and after having dropp'd in a few graines of gunpowder, and stopping them up by forcing in a screw, exceedingly well riveted at the top, they set it on a pan of charcoale, in a large quadrangle of the Colledge, which no sooner thereby heated, but with a terrible explosion it brake the ball into a thousand pieces. Now tho' this was com'on gunpowder, yet 'tis not the sulphur, but the

niter which operates with this perniciousity, & breakes all bands whatsoever. The sulphur and coale which enter into the composition and blacken the cornes, are onely (y^r L^p knows) in order to its speedy kindling, adding little else to its force. The consideration whereof frees me from all questionings of the being and power of spirits (I meane intellectual ones), & of creatures & beings invisible. The dire effects of compressed and incarcerated aer, when the turn-key fire [sulphur] unlocks the prison-doors are not to be express'd but with astonishment; nor passe I by a wind-mill without wonder, to see a stone of that magnitude, & so ponderous, & of so many tuns weight, whirl'd about with that swiftnesse by something which we do not see, & sometimes hardly feele, for a very little breath will set it going. Indeede it was to this pent-up vapour, which the antient meteorologists attributed those coliques & convulsions of the earth; but they did not dreame of niter, which tho' no more than aer contracted, has so much the more violent operation when expanded, as inclines me to think it has raised all the famous fires we meete with, & not onely the vulcanos at present burning (such as Hecla, Vesuvius, Ætna, Stromboli, &c.) but perhaps most of the mountaines of the world, which I fancy might have been thrust up by the force of subterranean fires. Powder'd alabaster, chalke & sand being put into a vessell, & set on the fire, will (when hot) boile, & bubble up to some pretty & odd resemblances of such protuberances. Nor is it unlikely that where the hills are highest, the caves are as profound underneath them; & that there are vast ones under those Alpes & Sierras from whence our rivers derive their plentifull streames, and haue their supplies from some such capacious cisternes & *hydrophylatia* as Kircher mentions. Besides these, may there not also be

many dry & empty *cryptas*, sometimes above, & sometimes beneath these water receptacles, where Vulcan and the Cyclops are perpetually at work? And that in processe of time, the fire arriving at a bed of niter & sulphure blowing up all incumbences, not onely cause these concussions, but frequently spew oute greate quantities of water? 'Tis evident that the very glebe & soile all about Naples is natural fuel, where I have in many places taken up *sulphur vivum*, both under and above the surface. All the ground both under that noble citty & country about it, sounds hollow like a tub. The hot bathes, natural stoves, & other extraordinary things of this kind thro' all that territorie, are the effects of subterranean fires, which feeding on the bituminous & other unctuous & inflammable matter (which it copiously finds) when it comes once to meete with a stratum of niter, it forces up all above & about it, & makes that prodigious havock, however thick, deepe, & heavy be the incumbent weight or matter. Thus did Vesuvius A° 1630, and now since (more terrible) at Catanea, ejecting stones and huge rocks of monstrous bulk; belching out flames & scattering ashes some hundred leagues distance from the eruption. Now when this niter has don its execution, and one thinks it quite at rest (for so it seem'd to be for about a thousand years, nay I think ever since the elder Plinie perish'd there¹) emitting only a little smoke, it was all this while, it seemes, lurking 'till it came to another stratum, and then up went all againe, and thus 'tis evident haue ben made those deep and dreadful *calderras* both of Vesuvius & Ætna. Whither at first these fires were kindled by lightnings from without (as y^r L^p well conjectures) or from corruscations within, or by the collision of pyrites &

¹ For in this confidence they built citties and palaces, & planted vineyards and places of pleasure. J. E.

other stones of the arched caverns, the prepar'd matter soone conceives a kindling, which breaking into a flame, rarifies the stagnant aer, that bursts those rocky barrs, which 'till it breaks out puts oftentimes a country in those paroxisms and ague fitts which we call earthquakes. The noise, explosion, & inconceivable swiftnesse of its motion, affecting so distant places in the same moment almost of time, shewes thro' what recesses, long extended channels & hollow passages (as in so many mines) this sulphurous niter lies in traine, ready for the *lin-stock*. These furnaces are doubtlesse the laboratories where minerals are concocted into metals; *fluors* sublimated, salts and juices condens'd, & precious stones, the several ferments imparting various qualities to earths and waters, & promoting vegetation; nay who knows (& I pray God we may never know) whether local Hell be not the central fire; or whether this vast terraqueous globe may not one day breake like a granado about our eares, & cast itselfe into another figure than the deluge did according to the ingenious Doctor's¹ theorie?

But, my Lord, from philosophising and conjecture I am rambling I know not whither, when all that I would signifie is my full assent to your L^{ps} reasoning; very believing the cause of earthquakes to proceede from the ingredient mention'd, mutually in-kindled, & then, in searching vent, teares all up, where it finds the obstacle, & shaking all about it. 'Tis observable that Ægypt and the lower regions seldome feel these concussions, whilst the mountainous countries are most obnoxious, as most cavernous; especialy in hot climats. Sad instances of this are the yet ruines of Old Antioch, Smyrna, &c. and in our days Ragusa, Benevento, Smyrna againe, & that terrible one of Jamaica, which had its opera-

¹ Dr. Burnet of the Charter-House.

tion & was felt as far as England but a few days since. All the mountainous countries of Sicily & Greece & along Dalmatia's side are hollow, perhaps for thousands of miles, even under the very sea itself; as I believe from Vesuvius to Ætna, and thence to other further remote mountaines & vulcanos, perhaps as far as Iseland, China, & the Andes of Peru, which are full of *picos*, whereof Potosi (that inexhaustible magazine of silver and other metalls) seemes to be no other. Those furious ravages may also probably have made so many rugged rocks, cliffs, hiatus's & peloponesus's, & have seperated those many ilands, & scatter'd, nay, as it were sow'd about the ocean, & divided from the continent; & what if raised in the very sea itselfe, as the Terceras were & Teneriffe in the Grand Canaries, not to insist on the new mountaine neere the Baïæ: So that (my L^d) I am in no distresse at all to solve this phænomenon, at least to my owne satisfaction. But when all is said, tho' all proceede from natural causes, yet doubt I not their being inflicted & directed, by the Supreme Cause of causes, as judgements upon a sinfull world, and for signes of greate calamities, if they work no reformation: if they do, of chastisements. Upon these accounts I looke on them as portentous & of evil præsaige, and to shew us that there is no stabilitie under heaven, where we can be safe & happy, but in Him alone who laied the foundations of the earth, the rock of ages that shall never be removed, when heaven & earth shall passe away.

As to our late earthquake here, I do not find it has left any considerable marks; but at Mons'tis said it has made some demolitions. I happen'd to be at my Brother's at Wotton in Surry when the shaking was, & at dinner with much companie; none of us yet at table sensible of any motion. But the mayd who was then making my bed, & another servant in

a garret above her, felt it plainely, and so did my Wife's laundrymayd here at Deptford; and generally wherever they were above in the upper floores they felt the trembling most sensibly, for a reason I neede not explaine to y^r Lo^p. In London, & particularly in Dover street (where my Son's house is) they were greatly affrighted. But the stories that go about in this neighbourhood, by many who are lately return'd from Jamaica, are many, & very tragical. I doubt not at the next meeting of Gressham Coll. (which will now shortly be after their usual recess during summer) we shall have ample & authentic histories & discourses on this subject from several places of their correspondents. I cannot in the meane time omitt acquainting of y^r Lo^p with one very remarkable, which we have received here from credible hands: that during this astonishing & terrible paroxysme, multitudes of people running distractedly out of their tottering houses, & seeing so many swallow'd up & perishing; divers of them espying the minister of the towne at some distance, ran and compass'd him all about, desiring him to pray for them, as immediately he did, all falling on their knees, when all the ground about them suddenly sinking, the spot onely upon which they were at prayer remained a firm & steady island, all the rest of the contiguous ground turning into a lake, other places into gulphs, which drown'd & buried all that stood upon them, & which were very many. And now, my Lord, 'tis time to implore your pardon for this tedious paper, together with your blessing.

Sayes-Court, 15th Oct^r 1692.

To Doctor Plot.

Worthy D^r,

Our common and excellent friend M^r Pepys acquaints me, that you would be glad to know upon what I am at present engaged relating to *Coines*, there being (it seemes) a designe of publishing something about that subject as they concerne the monye of this nation. It is true indeede (& as I remember to have told you) that I had blotted some sheetes upon an argument of that nature, but without the least reference to current money antient or modern, but on such *Medals* as relate purely to something historical, which does not at all interfere with other coines, unlesse it be such as our *Spur-royal* as they call it, being a single stamp of gold, and, as you know, suggesting something of our storie here in England, besides its intrinsic value, upon which account I may have occasion to mention it. For the rest, I meddle not with them. But this prompts me to send my request to you, for the assistance you promis'd, by imparting to me what you had of this kind, which might contribute to what I am now preparing, & by which you will very much oblige,

S^r, y^r, &c.

Sayes-Court, 27th Aug. 1693.

To John Evelyn, Esq.

Thredneedle Street, London,
Octob. 2nd, 1693.

Hon^d S^r,

According to y^r desire I have look't out all the Historicall Medalls I have in my possession, which I have laid aside for your use, whenever you please to

call for them. In the mean time I must begg a favour of you in behalf of the University of Oxford, who are now publishing a Tract of Plutarch's concerning Education, & would gladly add another of St. Chrysostom publish't in France by Combefis in Greek, could they meet with the book. Pauls Church yard and Little Britain have been search't for it without success, nor is there now any hopes left but in you, who it seems have translated it into English, wherefore they presume you must have the Greek copy, which they promise themselves (upon my importunity) you will be pleased to accommodate them with. Wherein you are also desired to be very speedy, because they designe to have both tracts out before Christmas. Our common and most excellent friend Mr. Pepys told me this day he hoped to see you this week, wth whom, should I be out of towne (as I guess I may on Wensday & Thursday in quest of some Roman antiquities now under my consideration), I desire you would leave the book, wherein you will very much oblige the whole University, and amongst them more particularly,

Y^r most humble and oblig'd serv^t,
ROB. PLOT.

To my Lord Spencer.

My Lord,

Tho' I have not the opportunitie of waiting on y^r L^p so often as I ought and should do, was I perfectly at my owne disposure (which by reason of many impediments in my circumstances of late I neither have ben, nor as yet am); yet my worthiest thoughts & inclinations are never absent from you; and I often revive my selfe with the meditation of y^r virtues, & some very few noble young persons more, when that

of the sad decadence of the age we live & converse in interposes its melancholy prospect.

I was with greate appetite coming to take a repast in the noble library which I heare you have lately purchas'd (& by the catalogue I have seene, must needes be a very chosen collection), when at the same time I understand you are taking a journey with resolution of making a toure about England, thereby joyning to books and paper-descriptions, experience; and to speculation, the seeing of the things themselves. It has certainly ben a greate mistake & very preposterous in our education, the usually sending our young gent: to travell abroad, & see forraine countries, before they have seene or known any thing of their owne. Your L^p remembers who says it, *Ne sis peregrinus domi*; & therefore worthily don & memorable in my L^d Tress^r Burleigh, to hinder the Council, who in those days it seemes us'd to give passes to trauel, from granting them to any who had not first seene and could giue a good account of their owne countrie. Your L^p therefore has taken the best & most natural method; & I know not what can now be added to the rest of y^r accomplishments, but the continuance of your health, which I shall pray may attend all your motions, who am,

My L^d, y^r, &c.

Deptford, 4 Sept^r 1693.

To Mr. Gibson,¹ &c. (afterwards Bishop of London.)

S^r,

To the notes & papers you desired of me, I have since endeavour'd to informe my selfe in those particulars you mention'd, & which I presume are come

¹ The learned person who published the Saxon Chronicle, and was now setting forth a new edition of Camden's Britannia, with additions. J. E.

to you ; & now by this let' from a friend of mine, well acquainted with the trustees of Dog Smith (as he is call'd), I send you the particulars of that extraordinary benefactor to this County. You may please to take notice, that besides what I writ to you of Geo: Abbot Ab^p: of Canterbury, & his bro: Robert Bishop of Salisbury, he had at the same time Moris another bro: who was L^d: Mayor of London ; all sons of the same cloathier, & natives of Guildford. Also that Hammond whom I mention'd, was not onely a benefactor to the schole there, but founder of a felowship at Balliol Coll. Oxon. Io. de la Haye died about 300 years since, about whom & other particulars expect in my next, for I would not retard the printer longer than is necessary, who remain,

Y^r, &c.

Wotton, 31 May, 1694.

To the Bishop of Lincolne (Dr. Tennison).

My L^d,

It is none of the least mortifications, that besides other circumstances obliging me to be at this distance from my old abode, I cannot haue the opportunitie of waiting on y^r L^p, & receiving those advantages & improvements, which I allways return'd with whenever I came from my L^d of Lincolne. We are here in no unpleasant solitude : some good books which I find here, with a cart load which I brought along with me, serve to aleviate the tediousnesse of sitting still ; but we know nothing of new, but what our friends from your side impart to us. Mr. Pepys sent me last week the Journal of S^r Jo. Narbrough & Capt. Wood ;¹

¹ Entitled, " An Account of several late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North, towards the Straits of Magellan, the South Seas," &c. 8vo. 1694.

together with Mr. Wharton's preface to his intended History of the Life of A: Bishop Laude.¹ I do not know whether I might do the learned editor (for it seemes he onely publishes a Mss: written by that greate prelate of his owne life) any service, by acquainting him with a passage relating to that person, namely, the Jubilee which the sacrifice of the Bishop caus'd among some at Rome ; it being my hap to be in that citty, and in company of divers of the English fathers (as they call them) when the newes of his suffering & the sermon he made upon the scaffold ariv'd there ; which I well remember they read & com'ented on, with no small satisfaction, & (as I thought) contempt, as of one taken off who was an enemy to them, and stood in their way ; whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was (we may well calle to mind) his being popishly affected. I know not, I say, whether the Memoirs may be of any import to Mr. Wharton, with whom I haue no acquaintance ; I therefore acquaint y^r L^p wth it, and in the formes almost that I haue mention'd & subjoin'd it to my Discourse of Medals under that of this Arch-Bishop's figure, which together with my copy, I haue now sent Ben: Tooke to print (as he desires) if it be worth his while. I add nothing more but that of my Wife's humble service to you & my lady, & that there is still a part of our small family at Says-Court, where my Daughter Draper & husband are the young œconomists, & all of us concern'd to beg y^r L^{ps} blessing and prayer, especialy
Y^r, &c.

I should rejoyce to heare how Mr. Bentley proceeds with y^e Library at Whitehall. I hope y^r L^p will mind him of the sermons he owes us & the

¹ Printed in two folio volumes in 1695-1700.

publiq ; I heare nothing of the Bish: of Chichester, who is likewise in our debt.

Wotton, 29 May, 1694.

To Mr. Benjamin Tooke (Printer).

Mr. Tooke,

Tarde, sed tandem. At last I send you the copy you have so long expected ; never the worse, I hope, for coming no sooner. I wish it may answer the paines I have taken in compiling : for it would amount to the value of many Medals. I was indeede unwilling it should scape from me without something more than an ordinary treatise. It will therefore require a more than ordinary supervisor. You tell me, such a one you have ; if not, pray make use of the poore man I directed to you, who is also acquainted wth my hand, & will be ready to assist you. There being abundance of writers on this subject in all other polite European languages, & but one very short & partial one in ours, will I hope render this the more acceptable, & give ferment to the curious. I expect attaques from some peevish quarter, in this angry age, but so it make for y^r interest, & satisfy equitable judges, I shall not be much concern'd.

The Medals which are here sent you, pray take care of, & deliver but one by one to y^r graver, nor supply him with any other till he returnes you that he is graving with the plate. You'l find I have mark'd the paper, wherein you must keepe the plates, and apply to the pages as directed, by which you'l avoid mistakes, easily fallen into without some such method. Such as you are to have from the Earle of Clarendon, Dr. Plot, &c. I will take care to procure you by the time these are dispatch'd. As for the graving, so

the contours and outlines be well design'd, I am not solicitous for the hatching (as they call it), since we have laudable examples of the other in Gruter, Spanheim, & other excellent authors. M^r White, if he have leisure, will be y^r best man; & for the volume, I should think a thin moderat folio, with a faire letter, most desireable. As for the title, epistle, & preface, I shall provide you in good time, & as I see cause; onely I pray take special care of the insertions & paragraphs which I have marked [: when all this is finish'd, I purpose a very accurate index. This being all at present, I wish you good successe, and am,

Y^r, &c.

Wotton, 2 June, 1694.

To Mr. Wotton.

S^r,

I most heartily beg y^r pardon for detaining your books so unreasonably long after I had read them, which I did with greate satisfaction, especialy the Life of Descartes. The truth is, I had some hopes of seeing you here againe, for methought (or at least I flatter'd myselfe with it) you said at parting you would do us that favour before my going to London, whither I am, God willing, setting out to-morrow or next day for some time; not without regret, unlesse I receive y^r commands, if I may be any ways serviceable to you, in order to that noble undertaking you lately mention'd to me, I meane your generous offer & inclination to write the Life of our illustrious philosopher Mr. Boyle, and to honor the memory of a gentleman of that singular worth & vertue. I am sure if you persist in that designe, England shall never envy France, or neede a Gassendus or a Baillet to perpetuate & transmit the memory of one not

onely equaling but in many things transcending either of those excellent & indeede extraordinary persons, whom their pens have render'd im'ortal. I wish my selfe was furnish'd to afford you any considerable supplys (as you desir'd) after my so long acquaintance with Mr. Boyle, who had honor'd me with his particular esteeme, now very neere fourty yeares, as I might have don, by more duly cultivating frequent opportunities he was pleas'd to allow me. But so it is, that his life & virtues have ben so conspicuous, as you'll neede no other light to direct you, or subject-matter to work on, than what is so universally knowne, and by what he has don & publish'd in his books. You may perhaps neede some particulars as to his birth, family, education, & other lesse necessarie circumstances for introduction ; and such other passages of his life as are not so distinctly knowne but by his owne relations. In this if I can serve you, I shall do it with greate readinesse, & I hope successe ; having some pretence by my Wife, in whose grandfather's house (which is now mine at Deptford) the father of this gentleman was so conversant, that contracting an affinity there, he left his (then) eldest son with him whilst himselfe went into Ireland, who in his absence dying, lies buried in our parish church, under a remarkable monument.¹ I mention this because my Wife's relation to that family giving me accesse to divers of his neerest kindred ; the Countesse Dowager of Clancartie (living now in an house of my Son's in Dover-streete) and y^e Countesse of Thanet, both his nieces, will I question not be able to informe what they cannot but know of those & other circumstances of their uncle, which may not be unworthy of your notice ; especialy my Lady Thanet, who is a greate virtuosa, and uses to speake much of her uncle. You know she lives in one of

¹ A Tent and Map of Ireland in relievo.

my L^d of Nottingham's houses at St. James's, and therefore will neede no introductor there. I will waite upon my Lord Burlington if there be occasion, provided in the meane time (and after all this officiousness of mine) it be not the proffer of a very uselesse service; since my Lord B^p of Salisbury, who made us expect what he is now devolving on you, cannot but be fully instructed in all particulars.

It is now, as I said, almost fourty yeares since first I had the honor of being acquainted with Mr. Boyle; both of us newly return'd from abroad, tho' I know not how, never meeting there. Whether he travell'd more in France than Italy, I cannot say, but he had so universal an esteeme in forrain parts, that not any stranger of note or quality, learn'd or curious, coming into England, but us'd to visite him with the greatest respect and satisfaction imaginable.

Now as he had an early inclination to learning (so especialy to that part of philosophy he so hapily succeeded in), he often honor'd Oxford, and those gentlemen there, with his company, who more peculiarly applied themselves to the examination of the so long domineering methods & jargon of the scholes. You have the names of this learned junto, most of them since deservedly dignified in that elegant History of the Royal Society, which must ever owne its rise from that assembly, as dos the preservation of that famous University from the phanatic rage & avarice of those melancholy times. These, with some others (whereof Mr. Boyle, the Ld. Viscount Brouncker, S^r Robert Morray, were the most active,) spirited with the same zeale, and under a more propitious influence, were y^e persons to whom the world stands oblig'd for the promoting of that generous and real knowledge, which gave the ferment that has ever since obtain'd, and surmounted all those many discouragements which it at first incounter'd. But by no man more

have the territories of the most usefull philosophy ben enlarg'd, than by our *hero*, to whom there are many trophys due. And accordingly his fame was quickly spread, not onely among us here in England, but thro' all the learned world besides. It must be confess'd that he had a mervailous sagacity in finding out many usefull and noble experiments. Never did stubborn matter come under his inquisition but he extorted a confession of all that lay in her most intimate recesses ; and what he discover'd he as faithfully register'd, and frankly com'unicated ; in this, exceeding my L^d Verulam, who (tho' never to be mention'd without honor and admiration) was us'd to tell all that came to hand without much examination. His was probability ; Mr. Boyle suspicion of succeſse. S^r, you will here find ample field, and infinitely gratifie the curious with a glorious and fresh survey of the progresse he has made in these discoveries. Freed from those incumbrances which now & then render the way a little tedious, 'tis abundantly recompensing the pursuite ; especially those noble atchievements of his, made in the spring and weight of the two most necessary elements of life, aer & water, and their effects. The origin of formes, qualities, and principles of matter : histories of cold, light, colours, gems, effluvias, & other his workes so firmly established on experiments, polychrests, & of universal use to real philosophy ; besides other beneficial inventions peculiarly his ; such as the dulcifying sea-water with that ease & plenty, together with many medicinal remedys, cautions, directions, curiosities & arcana, which owe their birth or illustration to his indefatigable recherches. He brought the phosphorus & anteluca to the clearest light that ever any did, after innumerable attempts. It were needlesse to insist on particulars to one who knows them better than my selfe. You will not, however, omitt those many

other treatises relating to religion, which indeede runs thro' all his writings upon occasion, and shew how unjustly that aspersion has ben cast on philosophy, that it disposes men to Atheisme. Neither did his severer studys yet soure his conversation in the least. He was the furthest from it in the world, and I question whether ever any man has produc'd more experiments to establish his opinions without dogmatising. He was a *Corpuscularian* without Epicurus ; a greate & happy analyzer, addicted to no particular sect, but as became a generous & free philosopher, preferring truth above all ; in a word, a person of that singular candor & worth, that to draw a just character of him, one must run thro' all the vertues, as well as thro' all the sciences.¹ And tho' he tooke the greatest care imaginable to conceale the most illustrious of 'em, his charities & the many good works he continually did could not be hid. It is well known how large his bounty was upon all occasions :—witness the Irish, Indian, Lithuanian Bibles, to the translations, printing & publishing of which he layd out considerable summs ; the Catechisme, & Principles of the Christian Faith, which I think he caus'd to be put into Turkish, & dispers'd amongst those infidels. And here you will take notice of the Lecture he has endow'd and so seasonably provided for.

As to his relations (so far as I have heard) his father Rich^d Boyle was *faber fortunæ* ; a person of wonderfull sagacity in affaires, & no lesse probity, by which he compass'd a vast estate & greate honors to his posterity, which was very numerous, & so prosperous, as has given to the publiq both divines & philosophers, souldiers, politicians, & statesmen, and spread its branches among the most illustrious and opulent of our nobility. Mr. Robert Boyle, born I

¹ See Bishop Sanderson, "De Juramenti promissorii obligatione," 2nd edit. dedicated to him.

think in Ireland, was the youngest, to whom he left a faire estate; to which was added an honorary pay of a troop of horse, if I mistake not. And now, tho' amongst all his experiments he never made that of the married life, yet I have ben told he courted a beautifull & ingenious daughter of Carew, Earle of Monmouth; to which is owing the birth of his "Seraphic Love," and the first of his productions. Descartes¹ was not so innocent. In the meane time he was the most facetious & agreeable conversation in the world among the ladys, whenever he happen'd to be so engag'd; and yet so very serious, compos'd, & contemplative at all other times; tho' far from moroseness, for indeede he was affable & civil rather to excesse, yet without formality.

As to his opinion in religious matters and discipline, I could not but discover in him the same free thoughts which he had of philosophy; not in notion onely, but strictly as to practise an excellent Christian and the greate duties of that profession, without noise, dispute, or determining; owning no master but the Divine Author of it; no religion but primitive, no rule but scripture, no law but right reason. For the rest, allways conformable to the present settlement, without any sort of singularity. The mornings, after his private devotions, he usually spent in philosophic studys & in his laboratory, sometimes extending them to night; but he told me he had quite given over reading by candle-light, as injurious to his eyes. This was supply'd by his amanuensis, who sometimes read to him, and wrote out such passages as he noted, and that so often in loose papers, pack'd up without method, as made him sometimes to seeke upon occasion, as himselfe confesses in divers of his works. Glasses, potts, chymical & mathematical in-

¹ Who confesses he had a bastard daughter. See M. Baillet in *Vita Descartes*. J. E.

struments, books & bundles of papers, did so fill & crowd his bed-chamber, that there was but just roome for a few chaires; so as his whole equipage was very philosophical without formality. There were yet other roomes, and a small library (and so you know had Descartes¹), as learning more from men, real experiments, & in his laboratory (which was ample & well furnish'd), than from books.

I have said nothing of his style, which those who are better judges think he was not altogether so happy in, as in his experiments. I do not call it affected, but doubtlesse not answerable to the rest of his greate & shining parts; and yet, to do him right, it was much improv'd in his "Theodora" and later writings.

In his diet (as in habit) he was extreamely temperate & plaine; nor could I ever discern in him the least passion, transport, or censoriousnesse, whatever discourse or the times suggested. All was tranquil, easy, serious, discreete, and profitable; so as besides Mr. Hobbes, whose hand was against every body, & admir'd nothing but his owne, Francis Linus excepted (who yet with much civility wrote² against him), I do not remember he had the least antagonist.

In the afternoones he was seldom without company, which was sometimes so incom'odious that he now & then repair'd to a private lodging in another quarter of the towne, and at other times (as the season invited) diverted him selfe in the country among his noble relations.

He was rather tall & slender of stature, for most part valetudinary, pale & much emaciated: nor unlike his picture in Gressham Colledge; which, with

¹ One at Egmond desiring to see his library, he brought him to a roome where he was dissecting a calfe. J. E.

² Viz. Tract. de Corporum Inseparabilitate, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1661. J. E.

an almost impudent importunity, was, at the request of the Society, hardly extorted or rather stolen from this modest gentleman by S^r Edmund King, after he had refus'd it to his neerest relations.

In his first addresses, being to speake or answer, he did sometimes a little hesitate, rather than stam'er, or repeate the same word ; imputable to an infirmity, which, since my remembrance, he had exceedingly overcome. This, as it made him somewhat slow and deliberate, so after the first effort he proceeded without the least interruption in his discourse. And I impute this impediment much to the frequent attaques of palsys, contracted I feare not a little by his often attendance on chymical operations. It has plainly astonish'd me to have seene him so often recover when he has not been able to move, or bring his hand to his mouth : & indeede the contexture of his body, during the best of his health, appear'd to me so delicate, that I have frequently compar'd him to a chrystal or Venice glasse ; which tho' wrought never so thin and fine, being carefully set up, would outlast the hardier metals of daily use ; and he was withall as clear & candid ; not a blemish or spot to tarnish his reputation ; & he lasted accordingly, tho' not to a greate, yet to a competent age ; threescore yeares I think ; & to many more he might, I am persuaded, have ariv'd, had not his beloved sister, the Lady Viscountesse Ranalagh, with whom he liv'd, a person of extraordinary talent & suitable to his religious & philosophical temper, dyed before him. But it was then that he began evidently to droope apace ; nor did he, I thinke, survive her above a fortnight. But of this last scene I can say little, being unfortunately absent, & not knowing of the danger 'til it was past recovery.

His funeral (at w^{ch} I was present) was decent, and tho' without the least pomp, yet accompanied with a

greate appearance of persons of y^e best & noble quality, besides his owne relations.

He lies interr'd (neere his sister) in the chancell of St. Martin's Church; the L^d Bishop of Salisbury preaching the funeral sermon, with that eloquence natural to him on such & all other occasions. The sermon, you know, is printed, with the panegyric so justly due to his memory. Whether there have ben since any other monument erected on him, I do not know, nor is it material. His name (like that of Joseph Scaliger) were alone a glorious epitaph.

And now, S^r, I am againe to implore y^r pardon for giving you this interruption with things so confusedly huddl'd up this afternoone, as they crowded into my thoughts. The subject you see is fruitfull, & almost inexhaustible. Argument fit for no man's pen but Mr. Wotton's. Oblige then all the world, and with it,

S^r, y^r, &c.

Wotton, 30 Mar. 1696.

END OF VOLUME III.

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